NEW TIMES

December 24 – 30, 1991

Next stop – the Moon?

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

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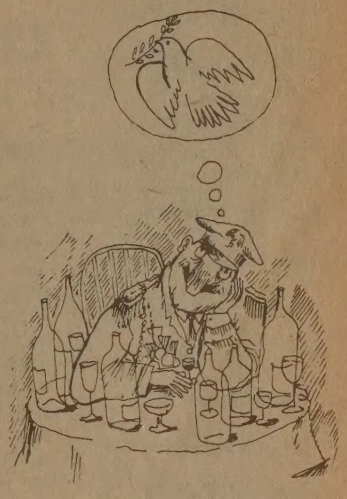

A new putsch is the talk of the town. But what will the army do?

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The fate of peace in the Middle East is decided not by the confrontation between Jews and Arabs, but by the struggle between the Palestinians themselves

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Cover by Victor Brel

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From our mailbag

■ Not long ago the newspaper *Izvestia* carried an article, *The Karabakh Diary*, by Andrei Nuikin. Readers can agree or disagree with the journalist's views on current developments in Nagorny Karabakh. Nevertheless, the level of polemic should be civilized. Here is how a Baku newspaper "argues" with Nuikin.

Ziya Buniyatov, an academician and Hero of the Soviet Union, writes in the newspaper *Tarikh* that Andrei Nuikin's article is nothing but lies and wild talk of "a seemingly male creature because only this explains why he took part in a congress of homosexuals and lesbians." The academician adds: "Well, if Nuikin is gay then, as Radio Armenia once joked, Zoriy Balayan (a people's deputy from Karabakh) likes him not only for being such." Galina Starovoitova, and Yelena Bonner were described by the Baku academician as junk. Buniyatov is sure that *Izvestia* carried Nuikin's article only because it was paid a good sum, and "not in wooden rubles, of course."

V.Krivonosov
Alma-Ata

■ I would like to comment on the interview given by Major-General (ret.) Vitaly Nikolsky to *New Times* (No. 48/91). It is not only interesting but, what is most important in my opinion, unbiased and well balanced. Intelligence work is a rivalry between brains, not a head-on attack, and especially not shooting from pistols. I say this as a specialist who has studied the work of secret services for almost 50 years – not only from an academic standpoint, but as a man with many years of practical work in the intelligence service.

It is rightly said in the interview that the Swedish press tried to play up the Wennerström affair, depicting him as a master spy whose services before the USSR were as great as those of Kim Philby. In fact, Wennerström and Philby are incomparable figures. Of course, Wennerström supplied the Soviet intelligence with valuable secret information about the war machine of the United States and NATO. But this information is incomparable with what Philby did.

One more thing. The title of the interview, *Moscow doesn't pay pensions to its agents*, is a catchy one, of course. But it is far from the truth. Moscow paid pensions to its agents, though not to all. In any case, Philby, MacClean, Burgess, Blake and other valuable agents of political intelligence were regularly paid by the Soviet leadership after they had retired from active service.

V.Chernyavsky
Moscow

■ I was disquieted by the interview given to *New Times* (No 47/91) by Arkady Murashev, the young chief of the Moscow police department, and in particular by his desire to help his subordinates "incorporate themselves into the political line of the Russian leadership." It can logically be asked how he will treat those who will be unable to fit in and, in general, whether policemen should carry out the duties recorded in the Russian Federation's law on the militia or whether they should balance on the political line pursued by Murashev as a former co-chairman of the Democratic Russia movement.

No less strange is Murashev's statement that, holding a high post in the police department, he does not know its secret information. If secret information is known to his subordinates there is no guarantee that they take advantage of it and use the exist-

The Japanese do not spare money

■ Your magazine has more than once published articles about the Japanese POWs who died in Soviet camps. I want to tell you how the graves of Russians are kept in my country.

We know the exact number of your soldiers taken prisoners during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 – 71,947. They were in prison for not more than a year and therefore not so many of them died. Nevertheless, soldiers died from wounds and diseases. The all-Japan association of former POWs decided to set up stone pillars on the burial places of the Russians. The list of the names of Russian soldiers buried at an Osaka cemetery has been verified and made public – a total of 89 men. Another 1,432 Russian soldiers have been buried in Japan, and a monument will be erected on everyone's grave.

Yasuko Shimura
Osaka, Japan

Имена русских солдат, захороненных на кладбище Идзуниоцу/Осака/. 1905 год

1. Иван Лизников
2. Иван Насыткин
3. Василий Черкасов
4. Григорий Пирогов
5. Василий Дорошук
6. Михаил Пономарев
7. Семен Антонович
46. Александр Трубаев
47. Андриан Здобнин
48. Иван Шунин
49. Родион Гордобов
50. Максим Пупасенко
51. Кузьма Цветников
52. Кузьма Чашников

Academician Buniyatov on the struggle against homosexuals and lesbians

The Main Intelligence Department of the Soviet general staff was stingy, but the KGB paid generously

The chief must know all the secrets of his department

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

ing "police secrets" for their purposes.

N.Zhidkov
Penza Region

■ You published my letter (No. 38/91) in which I offered my help in curing our sick society and set forth the idea of implementing a national project of assisting the UN World Campaign of Informing the Public about Human Rights. I also gáve the address of the Moscow office of the centre for human rights. We have already received letters with businesslike suggestions and have sent UN documents on human rights to all those interested in them. These documents are kindly delivered to us by the UN human rights centre in Geneva and the UN information centre in Moscow. They are distributed free of charge. But, unfortunately, we are no longer able to continue our work. The Moscow office of the Centre for Soviet-US Dialogue was recently abolished by the administration of the Soviet Peace Committee. In the near future, house No. 36 on Prospect Mira, in which the centre was situated, will probably be privatized and its rooms will be rented as offices by wealthy clients. There are no hopeless situations, however. We hope to continue our work in a different place.

Georgy Sukhomlin,
group coordinator
Moscow Region

■ I shall be very grateful to *New Times* if its editors consider it possible to publish the historic speeches delivered by Churchill on June 22, 1941 in London and March 5, 1946 in Fulton.

Winston Churchill is a contradictory figure. It should be admitted, however, that Soviet people have formed a one-colour picture of him – as an organizer of the anti-Soviet intervention and an ideologist of the cold war. But I don't understand in what respect Churchill's anti-communism differs from the anti-communism of many prominent democratic leaders of the former Union, not to mention the anti-Bolshevism of Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

Yuri Fatenko
Vladimir

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

Dispute about bearers of the Iron Cross

■ You have published several articles about Vlasov and his army, trying to discuss the past in an unbiased manner. In Latvia, too, the media writes about the men and officers of the Latvian SS legion. Our town newspaper *Elgavas zinotajs* carried an article about the book *The Tragedy of the Unvanquished* put out in Canada in 1987. As journalist A.Hartmanis, a former member of the 7th battalion, writes, the book is devoted to "the heroism and desperate fight of this pick military unit against the overwhelming forces of the enemy."

The command of Nazi Germany used SS troops in the occupied territories. Among the SS-men were 40,000 Dutch, 40,000 Hungarians, 30,000 Ukrainians, 30 Cossacks, 25 Flemish, 25 Letts, 18 Russians, 15 Estonians, 10 French, 10 Byelorussians, 10 Italians, 10 Tartars, 8 Norwegians, 6 Danes, 6 Slovaks, 5 Czechs, 5 Indians, 5 Romanians, 4 Finns, 4 Serbs, 4 Albanians, 3 Bulgarians, 3 Armenians, 3 Georgians, 2 Uzbeks, and 1,000 Greeks. There were also 700 Swiss, 300 Swedes, 100 British and one American in these units which fought against the Bolsheviks.

The highest order, Knight's Cross, was awarded to 28 soldiers, including 12 Letts and 4 Estonians.

The 19th division of the Latvian SS legion, the Yelgava newspaper says, was the best in the German army. This can be seen from the list of men awarded by the German command. Over 10,000 Letts in all German units were decorated with the Iron Cross of the first and second class and the 19th division was cited 55 times in the reports of the Wehrmacht's supreme command.

Ivars Rozenbergs
Yelgava, Latvia

■ I am very surprised. You published a letter of Dmitry Sergeyevich from Tashkent (No. 47/91) who demands that Hitler should be rehabilitated. How can one allege that Hitler wished us well and wanted to bring freedom to us? Has Dmitry Sergeyevich read *Mein Kampf*? It is clearly stated there what kind of freedom Hitler wanted to bring to the Russian people.

The allegation that war veterans are not defenders of the homeland but fighters for Stalinism and dictatorship is an insult to all those killed in the war. The words that there were no fascist camps but there were only Stalinist camps are a slap in the face.

Dmitry Sergeyevich, who did not dare give his surname, alleges that Hitler fought against the Bolsheviks, not peoples. There were no communist governments in the West and East European countries. Whom did the Nazis fight against there?

One can hate Communists, of course. I am not a party member and was not a member of the Octobrists, Young Pioneer or Young Communist League organizations, and I don't sympathize with Communists. But how can one think about the rehabilitation of Hitler? It is criminal to kill a person for his views, whether he is a communist or capitalist.

V.Zaplatin, 43
Riga, Latvia

NEW TIMES INVESTIGATION

A coup tomorrow?

The apprehension and uncertainty generate a conducive atmosphere for propagating rumours of a new putsch. But is a new coup really on the cards? Who would be its masterminds? And is the army prepared to intervene as an independent political factor?

Leonid Ionin

The August putsch theme is no longer the rage. It has receded from the mass media. The Matrosskaya Tishina prisoners are seldom mentioned nowadays. Even mentioned less so are the *Der Spiegel* video tapes. The press in now focussed on the "next" coup. The "putsch-2". Ostensibly it will seek to restore the old regime and the Union in its previous, or well-nigh previous, frontiers. Suspected are army, underground communists, the so-called patriots from the newspaper *Den* (The Day) and also Zhirinovsky & C. The warnings and forebodings issued, with even essays and novels written on this score forewarn none. Indeed in 1917 literally everyone knew a Bolshevik putsch was brewing. On its very eve the relevant warning was issued by Zinoviev and Kamenev from among the plotters themselves. However, it did take place. Such evidently is the logic of developments when the social situation demands an early radical solution.

Necessary, adequate

What is needed for a coup to take place is political and economic instability. That that exists is most likely clear to all. We here in Russia, in Moscow, have changed the name of the state for the third time this year, from the USSR to the USS and to the CIS, to wit the Commonwealth of Independent States, and it is quite likely that more will come. Thus far Mikhail Gorbachev served to some extent as earnest of political stability, ensuring at least symbolical continuity during the kaleidoscopic alternation of governments, ideologies and

Drawing by Peep Pedmanson

state names. One may of course dispute the worth of this stability as it was the relative stability of a sluggish state sickness. However it was there.

The constitutional crisis is attended by more crises literally in every sphere, in the economy, in the administration, in law and order, and, as important, in the daily tenor of life.

The long-ebbing administrative command system must be given its due for having been so firmly constructed. It has taken seven years for it to disintegrate, seven years when one would be hard put to indicate any positive organizational achievement. Nevertheless, lamps still light up in our homes, trains run, planes fly, students attend lectures, and hospitals and holiday homes function. I have no praise for the system, yet its merits derive from its continuated faults chief among which, or rather its fallacy, is its static conservatism.

Yet man cannot live outside of a stable, predictable environment. Man differs from animal in that he plans life over the short and long term. Thus, when setting out from A to B, he assumes that the plane for which he has procured the ticket will take off and land according to schedule. Also, and this is already more in the nature of the long term, he knows that Moscow University has been standing where it stands for 250 years now and will continue to stand there and that like himself, his son will enter that university and graduate from it. Such stability and predictability underlie the mental health of every person and society generally, and also furnish the earnest of loyalty to the authority. But when a plane does not take off because of a strike by traffic controllers, the absence of kerosene or of the plane generally, when all of a sudden with but a stroke of the pen, somebody places the Moscow University buildings at the disposal of somebody who does not want to be bothered with undergraduates, that means the very foundation becomes shaky and the entire social pyramid is quivering.

Gubernatorial worries

As such the political and economic instability of which the latter is also seen as a breakdown in the normal way of life need not necessarily bring about a coup. From the angle of logic this is a necessary condition, but it is not yet fully adequate.

What is necessary and adequate is the absence of authority, which we may interpret as the inadequately distinctly defined distribution of jurisdiction amidst the different echelons of power plus the absence of the necessary machineries for implementing the decisions taken at the top. Generally speaking, that is an inevitable malady in the process of democratization. In place of a centralized system of commands telling every specific person what to do, delegated downward is the right for every human being, city or republic to decide for themselves. But for a democratic system to normally operate, the decisions each echelon takes should be taken only within its jurisdiction, while the decisions the higher echelon takes and which refer to society as a whole, must be unswervingly implemented.

In its "separate" territory the city refuses to carry out the orders of the Russian government. Meanwhile the Cossacks are introducing their own "time-honoured" laws and rules. In the upshot the "governors" Boris Yeltsin appoints are obliged to rush out to Russia's cities and towns, which is all reminiscent of those days long ago, when the Provisional Government in 1917 dispatched commissars all over. At the time that failed to save the country.

Military republics

The army is very much in the public eye today. Hence in the consensus of opinion if a new coup takes place it will be a military takeover.

The army is predominantly assailed by a mood of discontent. It shares with the entire people resentment at the beggarly pay and disarranged daily conditions of life. On the other hand, it is angry with the never ending attacks to which it is subjected, to charges of wasting the nation's money, as if this money is sent down the drain not by the politicians, but by definite officers and generals. That Russia's leadership recently raised army pay and reinstated the army in the eyes of society, is important. But it is not everything.

The army is also depressed by its steady backward march across half of Europe, and the prospect of full collapse. Brest sent out a very alarming signal, when the three leaders said that the laws of the former USSR do not operate throughout the CIS. In its potentially destructive impact on the army this compares to the Petrograd Soviet's notorious Order of the Day Number One of February 1917. Though Brest declared that a united army would be kept, this is so far the army of the three CIS member states, as the Central Asian republics have not joined the Commonwealth yet. If Union legislation is inoperative, what are the soldiers from the Central Asian republics who comprise more than half of the army personnel to do? Disperse and go home?

The circumstance that the army is not yet plunged into chaos shows that the Brest architects had been somewhat hasty. USSR legislation is thus far working. Only that enabled the army and the entire country, for that matter, to survive Brest without exploding. However, nobody can or will furnish any assurances as to what is going to happen next. Indeed the assurance that a united army will be retained is but little convincing. Everything plainly hinges on how political developments go. Hence in these circumstances some generals in the army's top echelon, who are aware of the threat of chaos and total disintegration, may assume the mission to save the country.

Then we would have a new Union comprised of friendly republics, however constituted not according to national characteristics, but to the various military areas, such as the Odessa republic, the Moscow republic, the Volga republic, the Baikal republic and the Far Eastern republic. At the outset the commanding officers of the respective military areas would serve as the presidents of these republics, but shortly afterwards authority would be vested in civil politicians. Though this would seem to be an anti-utopia at first glance, oddly enough it dovetales with that project for Russia's state organization which Gavriil Popov published in *Izvestia* a

couple of months ago under the heading "What Next?" With him, true, everything is based on civilian authorities.

A take-over of this nature would not, one thinks, evoke any serious resistance within Russia proper, although smaller wars might erupt in the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and some Central Asian regions. According to the latest sociological census only 14 percent of the population believe Russia's economic reforms will be successful; 64 per cent do not. Yet a couple of months ago the proportion was quite different. However, now even Yeltsin's charisma no longer takes effects.

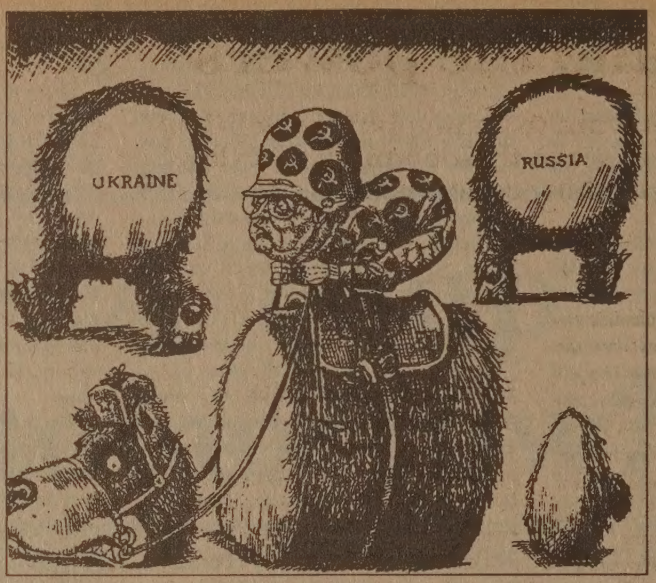
Though one may not trust sociologists unreservedly – or for that matter politicians – one cannot so airily dismiss such conjectures which indicate that a take-over bringing law and order, stability and guaranteed food could be expected with relief.

Definite political structures will need to be formed to substantiate this coup. They already embryonically exist in the form of the notorious Mr Zhirinovsky, the "Ours" movement, a range of trade unions and the numerous miniature Communist parties and movements. Nor can one rule out the consequence that if the coup is effected under patriotic mottoes, which is what will happen if it takes place, and proves sufficiently "mild," it will rally support also from the more moderate parties and movements and perhaps even from definite political personalities closely associated now or before with Russia's present leadership.

Hitler also looked ridiculous

In the democratic press Zhirinovsky has long been satirized and now and again even damned. But he doesn't care a tittle. He is much cleverer than he seems or wants to seem. Many note that in his day Hitler also looked ridiculous and was also satirized. However, Zhirinovsky also can act like a quick-change artist, should he be invested in front of TV cameras with the tokens of state authority by some elderly battle-scarred marshal (true the last of these is in jail, while others are retired).

Another as odious figure is Nevzorov, whom the democrats also satirize. Yet they do not seem to realize that Nevzorov's *600 Seconds* programme is possibly the one and only television channel open to the disinherited and the dispossessed, the cripples, the sick, the beggarly old-age pensioners and all the others left to die, who, incidentally, are those self-same people who bore the brunt of building up that state which today all so frantically seek to split up among themselves. To turn away from these people, to show no sympathy even for their troubles, should it be impossible to help them materially, is tantamount to delivering them into the hands of Nevzorov. The coup, should it occur, will be a military patriotic coup undertaken in the name of social justice. That is what its ideological formula will be.



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Again

Many are bewildered why the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorus rushed through their Commonwealth documents without bothering to discuss them with their colleagues from the other republics or even consulting their own parliaments. In the first place, they were afraid Gorbachev would toss a spanner in the works. In the second place, they had evidently not forgotten the month of August when on the eve of the signing of the Union Treaty tanks rumbled through the streets and squares of Moscow. No wonder they decided to produce a fait accompli and accept reproaches of hastiness.

A totally novel situation has come about, one that naturally needs to be analyzed. On the one hand, there is now the likelihood of political stability and collaboration between the republics which, given lawfully elected republican parliaments and presidents, may knock the ground from under the feet of potential plotters. Indeed, how can one conceive of a military-patriotic take-over when the army is united, nuclear weapons are controlled, inner frontiers do not really exist, no customs barriers insult the "Ours", and our prized, though soft ruble, still circulates everywhere.

On the other hand, the situation is most alarming. Officially, over the signatures of the leaders of the largest republics, the USSR is proclaimed nonexistent and its laws inoperative. Yet, most republics have still to evolve their own laws. In store furthermore, is the economic reform with its freeing of prices, impending poverty and the break-up of the still existing administrative-economic structures and links. Economic complications threaten to undermine the current national consensus in the republics, which may split up from within. However that may clash with economic logic and with logic generally, the desire to fence off from neighbours to save oneself will be there. The nationalist movements will start up again. The army, which is always "alien" will again be blamed. In such conditions a coup is plainly more than likely. But whether the plotters will be able to save anything, is, of course, another matter.

Will the putsch

Though Vilnius has served warning of a coup in the making it has not brought up any evidence. Below, **Egidijus BICKAUSKAS,** chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Lithuanian Republic in the USSR, is interviewed by *New Times* analyst **Alexander CHUDODEYEV**

NT. Lithuanian Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila said recently that a putsch would take place in Moscow on December 1–8. What reason did he have for saying that?

E. B. Not only Zigmas Vaisvila mentioned that to me, here in Moscow too such predictions are made. Thus the other day, I received a paper in which some highly influential persons from a noteworthy office said that a

The gun and the powers

The military do not want to be involved in political games. They want to serve their country. Yet they expect the powers to show concern

Vadim Makarenko, Dmitry Trenin

The emblems of power are changing in these changing times. Nowadays the nuclear button has ousted the ermine and sceptre. Though few know really what this button implies, its purely symbolical significance evidently far transcends its actual function. Though in August it did not cross any mind to engage in nuclear blackmail, the lot of the "black case" of the interned USSR President was a thorn in the side of politicians, society and the outside world. No wonder, the post-August balance of forces in the country was at once solidified in the area of military strategy when the Russian President entered the process of nuclear decision-taking on an equal footing with Gorbachev. Leonid Kravchuk has observed that in the upshot of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha meeting, nuclear arms control was now three times better. Soon Nursultan Nazarbaev will say it is four times better. Hence the nuclear key, or rather its symbol thus present the key to international recognition.

The army's Leftists and Rightists

Another token is that during that definitive Yeltsin-Gorbachev talk this month, both Presidents alternately appealed to the high command of the USSR Armed Forces before addressing themselves to their respective parliaments. In such circumstances it is hard not to succumb to the lure of visualising the army as arbitrating in political squabbles at home.

Western political scientists traditionally proceeded from the premise, that in the erstwhile Soviet Union there had existed a peculiar division of authority between the Communist Party apparatus, the KGB–MVD system, and the army. By cooperating and competing with one another, these three powerful arms generated a system of checks and balances, which continued over the decades until the memorable August thunder as the result of which one arm was chopped off and another broken. The army meanwhile not only survived the putsch but shook off its traditional controllers and supervisers. Small wonder, that as the USSR's disintegration accelerates and the socio-economic crisis intensifies, it is more and more frequently rumoured in society that a new military take-over may be brewing.

Though in this country the armed forces are annually "screened" by millions of newly drafted conscripts, wherever the army's political stance is concerned, the social mind clings to stereotypes. The common notion is that there is a conservative clan of generals at the top, a more or less neutral officer corps and a progressive younger generation. At a cursory glance what we hear said by service personnel more often in the public eye such as People's Deputies and all involved in hustings would seem to fit in with the afore-said scheme of things, indeed confirm it.

That the armed forces have their own Leftists and their own Rightists should not

begin in the Baltics?

coup might be attempted shortly. They even named the actual day. Though this is but conjecture, it cannot be dismissed. Our present state may be qualified as the ever-present anticipation of a possible new putsch.

NT. Who do you think the potential putschists would be?

E. B. Party functionaries, who at one time were in the saddle, but are now unemployed. Plus déclassé layabouts who under cover of all the slogans about equality and brotherhood, were used to sponging on the real workers. All these people – and there are millions of them – are furious, disgruntled. I think that if the new leaders do not quickly change things for the better, at some time in January or February next the Rightists may see the time ripe to come out into the open. In Moscow, moreover, the scenario is more realistic as currently people here are in a very bad way. No wonder I was so happy to learn that my government has decided to send to Moscow 8 million rubles' worth of free food.

NT. Don't you think Lithuania's policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Army is exacerbating the situation in your republic?

E. B. The Soviet Army must leave the Baltic states. Then the danger of a possible coup there would be far less. It is nice to see that Moscow has at last realized this. Yet there is the danger that, on the one hand, cries that "we know nothing and want to know nothing, so get out," while, on the other, the bogies, inactivity and ever-present "whatever you do, you'll be kicked out into hungry Russia anyway," cause the army to feel unhappy and toughen its stand.

NT. Which forces in Lithuania are fanning such sentiments?

E. B. Apart from everything else, responsible are our superradicals, many of whom really sincerely believe that they are right and call Soviet soldiers "occupiers" straight out. They fail to realize that by such hazardous doing they might put paid to everything achieved in Lithuania of late. Another thing is that the USSR Defence Ministry itself is not lifting a finger to defuse the tension. Yet, we feed the Soviet Army in Lithuania and provide it with electricity, heating and many other essentials.

NT. Do you think the Centre has left its army in Lithuania in the lurch?

E. B. Yes, to some extent, even though Moscow keeps issuing orders and its representatives come. While as regards the inactivity one may note the following. On November 3 the deadline for applying for Lithuanian citizenship expired. Officers serving in Lithuania, who live there on a permanent basis with their families were entitled to Lithuanian citizenship. However, the Centre did nothing to explain its policy in this respect. Meanwhile, the Lithuanian leadership, noting that it is essential for the troops to withdraw, realizes that such a vast number cannot be pulled out overnight. Bilateral negotiations on a pullout timetable are necessary. ■

cause wonder, as in the final analysis, the army is linked to society by millions of threads. What is amazing though is that despite the stupendous upheavals, despite Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius and Moscow, despite the radical cuts and the dizzying redeployments, the officer corps has not swung to any one side.

"President-maker"

The army, wherein before to carve out a career one usually had to be a Communist Party member, shook off Communist Party dominion well-nigh unnoticeably and almost overnight. The armed forces, wherein since the Civil War the figures of the commanding officer and commissar had fused into a complex, contradictory yet seemingly unbreakably entity discarded the political bodies with their nearly 100,000 personnel, in just the three autumn months alone. Note that there were no excesses, persecution or back-biting.

With the passage of time the army, though born as the Red Army and baptized as the Soviet Army, is realizing that it is really a professional structure which serves the country not the advanced class or universal ideology, that it exists to achieve the sole objective of averting outside attack, or of repelling such attack should that nevertheless take place. The failure to understand that the officer corps, regardless of its specific political sympathies and antipathies was fully aware of the bitter lessons Tbilisi and Vilnius had afforded, that is was hence totally reluctant to become involved in any more domestic political squabbles was a basic miscalculation on the part of the masterminds of the August manoeuvres in Moscow. In the months since the army's realization that it is a professional structure has increased.

Hence the army is not Bonapartistic. Yet is it the arbiter? No wonder the Union President recollected the army at the eleventh hour, while at the decisive moment Russia's President secured the army's support. We believe that anyone who thinks the army the king-maker or rather, the president-maker in our case, errors. In this country the people are the king-maker and, perhaps, the king-crusher. According to the technique of power the top executive should be able to relay, especially in a pinch, on loyal support from such figures as the minister of defence, the chief of staff, the commanding general of the Moscow military area, and the commandant of the governmental residence. Though forgetfulness of that rule may result in the loss of power, that far from makes the army the arbiter.

What do president, emperor and duke have in common?

A proper understanding of the interests of the military is of exceptional importance for any politician, especially a statesman. Today much tangibly troubles the army and society must take that into account.

Drawing by Dmitry Zgersky

In the first place, whom is the army to serve and obey? The army has survived the USSR's disintegration and has already entered the increasingly ticklish phase of transition. For the officer the oath has never been an abstract matter, while a well-organized system of administration and command comprises the backbone of every military structure.

In the second place, the army stands in need of an early, well-conceived military reform. The long-anticipated transition to contractual service for officers would doubtlessly lead to an acceptable moral climate in the armed forces. Indeed the option for most officers, so to speak, "to vote with their feet," would furnish the top command with a powerful insentive for promptly tackling the problems facing the officer corps and, for that matter, the rank and file. Effective parliamentary control would greatly obstruct certain generals from taking habitual spontaneous decisions for swift but unprepared troop redeployment, for arbitrarily inflating staff, etc.

In the third place, how can we tackle the sharply deteriorating conditions in which the officer and his family live? In the old times pay delays not infrequently provoked overt resentment. Unlike other callings, the officer cannot earn something additional by part-time work. His family is usually less protected. The number of officer families without lodgings, comprising 185,000 according to USSR Ministry of Defence official statistics, but 300,000 according to unofficial estimates, continues to grow.

In the fourth place, there are more and more cases of violence against officers, even their murder. The recent killing in Georgia of Major Berilov raised hackles not only in the Transcaucasian Military Area. Students at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow have called on the Ministry of Defence to let officers carry arms everywhere within the erstwhile Soviet Union. Because if the authorities cannot protect the officer and his family, he will be forced to act in self-defence.

In the fifth place, that part of the army, unexpectedly finding itself abroad, is now and again viewed with unfriendly eyes. Its status is indefinite and servicemen there are not only deprived of many rights, but are also overtly and covertly discriminated. To leave the army in the lurch in such a situation, would be, as Talleyrand put it, worse than a crime; it would be a blunder.

We naturally have listed only a few of the tangible problems with which the army is confronted. The social stance of the armed forces will depend precisely on how these interests are served, not on whether the "democratic mentality" prevails within the ranks over "empire nostalgia." What the army needs above all today is care for it. Anyone shouldering the duties of supreme commander-in-chief assumes a quite tangible responsibility not only to history, or to the world community, but to his subordinates above all.

Though these subordinates are not that numerous to be able to tip the scales at elections, their lack of trust may in a pinch have a very sensitive impact. Heads of state should not forget that. Though the emblems of power have changed, what a president, emperor and duke share in common is that they are all commanders-in-chief of the armed forces in their respective states.

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AVIS

Democrats in opposition to themselves

Galina Sidorova

"No matter what I suggest, you rush to criticize me and reject my initiative. Give me some time, let the processes start working..." Mikhail Gorbachev used to tongue-lash the democratic press after another sitting of the Supreme Soviet. This was only the prelude to his usual calls for consolidation, joint efforts, etc., etc.

Today's leaders are occasionally irritated by the press, too: stop agitating people, let us work, they say.

In high places such an attitude to a different opinion traditionally evolves into intolerance towards opponents. Several years ago, Eduard Shevardnadze as much as hinted that constructive opposition could be encouraged. This was enough to send his Politburo colleagues into shock.

What about today? The opposition, nearly crushed in the tight Bolshevist embrace, has finally come to power. Although it calls itself democratic, this opposition-turned-power is infected with the same old viruses in addition to some newly-acquired ones. That is why the question of constructive opposition is nearly as important today as the question of power.

The attitude to the bodies of power became the central issue at the Constituent Congress of the Democratic Reform Movement recently held in Moscow.

Since the moment it first appeared this organization irritated many people who regarded it as a safe haven for the cleverest representatives of the Communist establishmet. What is the Democratic Reform Movement now?

The Movement unites a number of parties, including the Russian Republican Party (formerly known as the Democratic Platform in the CPSU which later broke away from the mother Party) headed by Shostakovsky, the Russian Party for Democratic Change (an association of entrepreneurs set up after the August events), the Popular Party for Free Russia (better known as the Rutskoi Party) and some others. The Rules of the Movement adopted at the Constituent Congress also allow individual membership regardless of the person's party affiliation; to become a member, one only has to register with the local branch of the Movement.

Actually, the Movement is personality-oriented. Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Shatalin, Volsky, Sobchak, Popov, Shostakovsky were re-elected to co-chair the Movement. Why did this happen? The main reason, I think, is that these people are personalities, however controversial ones, they have been tested by politics and life and have managed to preserve their dignity and integrity.

The DRM has three specific features. At the moment it is the only political and social movement with an integrating inter-republican vector. The DRM relies on free enterprise because it believes that free enterprise is going to meet the interests of the largest segments of society. Human rights is the priority concern of the DRM. These must have been the objectives which brought so many different people to the Constituent Congress, ranging from hippy-like street democrats to yuppi businessmen to former Party big shots. The Congress was attended by 1,143 delegates and 370 observers from all states of the former USSR, representing 62 regional DRM centres, 26 parties, 23 movements and public organizations and 6 trade unions.

The Congress supported the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, but voiced serious concern about the disintegration of the armed forces and the negative influence the severance of economic ties will have on the planned reforms. The Congress also specially stressed that it was necessary to preserve the common democratic and legal space.

A fresh start for the Democratic Reform Movement

The main discussion centred on the Movement's attitude to the bodies of power. Some participants insisted that the Movement go to the opposition, because the fresh democratic leaders are too deeply involved in intrigues and they procrastinate with resolute free market reforms, especially privatization of land and property. Others demanded that the Movement emphatically support the pro-democracy leaders at all levels – after all, such leaders had been elected from among the democratic forces. Finally, a compromise was reached: the Movement is going to cooperate with the local bodies of power, resist all attempts to roll back the reforms, all anti-democratic manifestations and struggle for power where the democrats are failing.

According to Anatoly Sobchak, it is too early to speak about democratic power now: so far it is the anti-Communist opposition with populist or nationalist colouring that is at the helm. There is still much to do: it is necessary to affirm democratic principles in all spheres of life, to create a law-governed state proceeding form the priority of the shared democratic principles over the ethnic and state status, and to secure division of power.

The Movement leaders have once again proved to be brilliant tacticians. However, I believe that the emphasis on the concept of a constructive opposition is the main achievement of the Congress, an attempt to look far into the future.

The danger today is not really the return of the old structures, but that new leaders may be unable to resist the temptation to resort to tough measures in the crisis. It must also be remembered that the prestige of the leaders of some newly-sovereign states is largely based on nationalism and populism. Today such leaders are opposed by even more radical nationalists. By the next elections the voters who have suffered enough from "socialist achievements" will have experienced the hardships of the market economy – it is not a secret that transition to normal life will be excruciatingly painful. This means that already today responsible politicians must start forming a constructive opposition which can serve as the alternative in the next elections. Otherwise the only options voters may have to choose from will be the obscurantist Zhirinovsky and the rosy-cheeked Bolsheviks from the Nina Andreyeva Party.

Back to the trenches

Resignation of Moscow Mayor Popov is the first big defeat of the pro-democracy forces

When asked to comment on his decision to resign, Moscow Mayor Popov referred to unending conflicts and lack of understanding with the Moscow Soviet and the district Soviets. "They block any decision that I make," Popov complained. "If only it were possible to hold new elections now..." hinted Popov in a recent televised interview.

Some people may think these are quite convincing and serious arguments, but this does not change the fact that the democratic leader Popov has had to accept his own defeat. One can hardly help feeling disappointed. It has only been three years since the first not-so-free elections were held, and since the formation of the Congress of People's Deputies and Popov's banding up the opposition Inter-Regional Group of People's Deputies there. Eighteen months ago nearly all Moscow voted to elect Popov Mossoviet chairman. For the past six months Popov has served as Moscow Mayor enjoying tremendous powers confirmed by a special decree of the President of Russia. And now look what it all has come to.

Some people may argue that the outgoing Mayor fell victim to his own creation: Popov has not been able to cope with the cumbersome structure of the Moscow legislative and executive authority he created himself, which includes the Mayoralty, the Moscow Administration, the City Duma, the prefects, etc. After spending some time trying to figure out which authority reported to which, Popov got hopelessly lost and made a shattering revelation: all those people and institutions were against him, and out to ruin his well-meant efforts.

Popov was the first democratic leader who advocated the use of the old bureaucracy for the democratic cause. He believed that things would start going right once the old bureaucracy was headed by a "good" leader, once diehard Communists were purged and the nomenklatura's loyalty was bought. As we are saying good-bye to Popov, we are also parting with that illusion. The Mossoviet is easily the country's most democratic legislature, the Mayor is a cofounder of the Democratic Russia Movement, many city officals from among the old nomenklatura are more democratic than the democrat Popov himself – and still the situation continues to worsen. Suddenly Popov discovered that there was some difference between making fiery speeches and doing business. Popov was a great speaker, and naturally wants to resume that role today. There is no doubt that he will prove useful and successful in that role.

Popov's statement shows that the people who call themselves democrats are not yet ready to work in a system with more than one centre of power, that they continue to be possessed by the old vision of political power, with the only difference being that now they are occupying the CPSU's place.

As democrats are learning the first lessons, the Popov resignation is the first serious warning for them. Actually, the pro-democracy movement has fallen victim to erosion. Long before the demise of the Supreme Soviet the once vociferous Inter-Regional Group vanished. Its leaders have either been left out in the political cold, like Afanasyev and Stankevich, or have become high-placed, but not very successful executives, like Popov and Murashev. The relations between Mayor Sobchak and democratic deputies of the St.Petersburg Soviet, as well as the relations between Mayor Popov and the predominantly democratic Mossoviet are a far cry from anyone's idea of harmonic cooperation. The Democratic Russia Movement has split after Nikolai Travkin and his Democratic Party slammed the door closed.

Marina Shakina

All former and current leaders of the Inter-Regional Group and Democratic Russia have founded endless parties, political organizations and movements, betraying their confusion and dissatisfaction with themselves. Popov and Sobchak occupy leading positions both in the Democratic Russia Movement and the Democratic Reform Movement. Murashev is a prominent leader of Democratic Russia and also the founder of the Liberal Union. The Democratic Russia can claim to be the only massive movement, but its authority has suffered serious blows recently and will sink even lower after the resignation of Popov. This is really very upsetting. For whom is the faint-hearted Popov going to vacate his place? How could he have let his nerves go out of control on the threshold of cold winter, price liberalization and decisive events?

The movement which we called democratic two years ago during the first free elections could only exist in opposition to the CPSU. When the CPSU disappeared, it turned out that the democrats had no enemy but themselves. The disappearance of the CPSU meant the end of the democratic movement.

The elimination of the CPSU created no multiparty system in this country. It was the CPSU which used to cultivate the young democratic movements by providing the anti-image. It is not surprising in this connection that the democrats feel lost and start seeking a niche in the opposition. They used to be quite successful in the opposition. So far, political parties and movements are dominated by individual politicians with all the scope of such politicians' personal features and convictions – the Yeltsin Party, the Shevardnadze Party, the Travkin Party. No matter whether we want it or not, hopes will have to be pinned on personalities, people who have resisted the pressures of life and remained in politics. As for Mayor Popov, he seems to have failed the difficult tests. ■

A sanctuary for the monster

We have heard much about the military-industrial complex, but in the final analysis know nothing about it. In fact there is no programme of conversion today
What to do with the defence industry, the rock-firm foundation of the economy of the former Soviet empire?
The article by the president of the consortium Conversion–Medicine–Commerce opens a public discussion on the MIC's fate in the new conditions

Prof. *Yuri Varshavsky,*
D.Sc. (Medicine)

How to demilitarize the MIC?

The range of tactical solutions to the conversion problem is poor, in my opinion, because those who offer them do not know the real state of affairs, the trend of developments, the causes and mechanisms of many distortions, up to the fate of every hostage to the old unpaid bills. There is a real danger of a sharp transition from face-lifting, which leaves everything as it is, to a reckless cavalry attack which excludes any possibility but one, namely, building a new edifice on the ruins of the old one.

I have carefully read several times most of the articles about the military-industrial complex (MIC) and want to dismiss right away those of them or their sections which pretend to be a scientific analysis. Such an analysis is impossible so far because the articles do not have solid factual data as the basis of scientific research. The "leaked" figures are controversial while attempts to estimate direct and indirect expenditure according to the data of foreign experts and American satellites remind one of an incomplete detective investigation. Unfortunately, the authors of the above-mentioned articles are not connected with the problem through their work. *Glasnost* in this respect has not probably exceeded the limits of classified information or – it is even terrible to think of this – everything is so confused that no one knows the problem to full extent.

Academicians Sakharov and Kurchatov. Of all creators of Soviet nuclear arms, Sakharov was the only one to have effected his personal "conversion." Even today the bulk of scientists work at Soviet defence industry projects

Conversion has been loudly proclaimed. However, its programme, drawn up without the parliament, is implemented by the military-industrial complex itself. The visible part of developments looks strange, to say the least. It is not a trifling matter because we deal with the inter-branch giant which has produced in the last ten years more weapons than all the NATO states taken together.

Nine billion rubles have been requested for conversion of the defence industry and 40 billion for an expansion of the output of consumer goods by it. Under the guise of the conversion programme we are offered a plan for retaining the defence industry capacities while adding civil production capacities to them. The ruse of a five-year-old child used by statesmen.

We should not think, however, that the conservative forces in the MIC are so naive. Democratic newspapers let off blasts against the military-industrial complex, expressing bitterness and resentment over the senseless military orientation of the economy which engendered not only poverty but also the psychology of beggars incidentally dominant in the minds of the MIC representatives themselves. However, it can be noted, recalling the August coup, that public indignation turning into hissing steam is a worse alternative than the ability to use what we have in a thrifty manner. For all its deformities and malaises the present MIC is the country's valuable property, a p a r t i a l demilitarization of which requires new political priorities and economic incentives for the producer. Why partial? Extremes are intolerable in positions on this question. It would be foolish to try to destroy the military potential completely and curtail research in the military sphere.

A trip to the citadel

In Chelyabinsk-70, my colleagues and I were struck by the scale, scientific and technological level, multiformity and, what is even more important, a wealth of possibilities, partly dismissed or forgotten but capable, even at first glance, of improving our domestic affairs substantially. The immediate feeling common to our compatriots is one of hope which, in the given case, was based on solid

grounds: our country had started beating its swords into plowshares. We visited the elite citadel which, together with Arzamas-16, is engaged in the development of thermonuclear weapons. The United States has similar laboratories in Los Alamos and Livermore.

It hurt me to hear that. We learned about Los Alamos and Livermore long ago and about our laboratories of this kind only now. It pained me more to learn that the foreign media reported on Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70 long ago. It was not a novel procedure for our country, though.

In the senior courses of our medical college we tried to get cylinders for storing compressed lower nitric oxide. The cylinders we needed were produced only by the defence industry and were used for storing oxygen on warplanes. Their valves were designed to withstand superhigh pressure and quickly wore out. But those cylinders could still be used in medicine for many years. Nevertheless, the cylinders which had served their time and were of no secret were vigilantly guarded at military installations. They were kept at dumps in huge quantities like glass containers at reception points. One could receive three cylinders by permission of the air force comander of any number of them by "paying" 100 grams of alcohol for each. That was the price of the military secret.

The secrecy mania checks the progress of the defence industry to market relations. Even people responsible for maintaining secrecy understand that such an approach is obsolete. At the same time they feel that in conditions of competition it is important to guard production secrets. There is every reason for caution, because every sector of the military-industrial complex has colossal potential. Take, for instance, the Los Alamos and Livermore laboratories similar to those of Chelyabinsk-70. Each of them has well concealed tremendous capacities for the development of weapons. Outside them are even more powerful and dynamic capacities which rapidly disseminate know-how wherever possible.

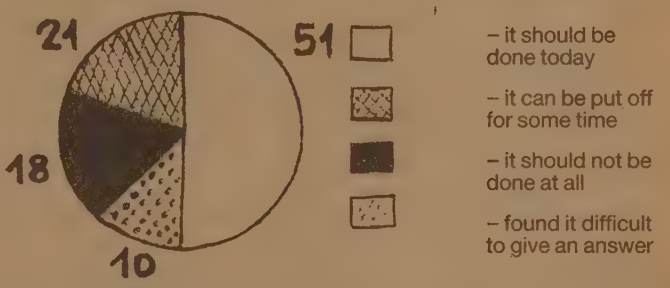
A special bed for patients who suffer from burns is manufactured only by one company in the world and is well known to surgeons. Their secret lies in clinospheres which fill the couch. Thanks to them the body of a patient is freely "washed" by the oxygen flow. The technology for such beds was supplied by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of the United States. The Ministry of Public Health of the USSR could hardly scrape up enough foreign currency to buy 20 beds of this type, whereas no less than 1,000 are needed. A sad and perhaps idiotic situation has arisen because the Soviet Union has such a design. However, it is kept secret.

The public opinion research service VP (Vox populi)

headed by Prof. Boris Grushin

Should the country spend money on the army?

Today many talk about the need to reduce defence spending, converting the industries of war into production for civil needs and reducing the strength of the army, disregarding the fact that the implementation of these measures also requires considerable resources. Bearing this in mind, do you think that defence expenditure should be lopped down already today or could be put off for some time? Or do you think that defence expenditure should not be axed at all (percentage of respondents):


21
51
18
10
– it should be done today
– it can be put off for some time
– it should not be done at all
– found it difficult to give an answer

Two extreme positions – active supporters (51 percent) and active opponents (18 percent) of the disarmament process – deserve interest and consideration in the poll data. There are many opponents – almost every fifth citizen of Russia.

It is interesting that a reduction of defence expenditure is favoured more often by young people (61 percent), highly educated people (71 percent), workers in the field of science and culture (64 percent) and cooperators (67 percent), experts (69 percent). The conversion of the defence industry, cuts in arms spending and the armed forces are opposed by people with incomplete secondary and lower education (27 percent), collective farmers (26 percent) and government employees (35 percent).

The "geography" of opinions looks as follows: a reduction of defence spending is most actively opposed by people in the North of Russia (29 percent), Eastern Siberia (30 percent), and the Volga-Vyatsky region (37 percent); 76 percent of respondents in the Urals favour defence spending cuts.

The opinion poll was held in Russia in the autumn of 1991; 2,000 people were approached

In Chelyabinsk-70 we saw the reverse and, I would say, tragic side of conversion – conversion "from below" and without a programme "from above." The higher-ups followed the biologists' method in this matter i.e., putting individuals in unusual conditions and observing their behaviour. Conversion was virtually reduced to the dismissal of talented and skilled workers who had been trained for decades to fulfill government orders unreservedly and had gotten used to life within compounds surrounded by barbed wire.

The tragic aspect of conversion

At the same time academic traditions of high quality have been carefully preserved. The significance of ranks in the scientific discussion was reduced to zero. To put in mildly, a free schedule of work was introduced, but with the fixed deadline for finishing the research work. A serious and respectful attitude is taken towards the negative results of research work. The search is encouraged in the most unexpected, almost wild, trend. The bureaucratic language and verbosity in documents were rejected. I kept in my hands a review of the scientific and practical value of a doctoral thesis. Besides the title, it consisted of two sentences: "The author of the reviewed work is the founder of a new scientific trend, which is known to all noted physicists of the world. I believe therefore that the work and its author deserve the degree sought by him."

It is natural that the atmosphere was characterized by a high level of training and an unusual creative spirit. Of course, all opportunities were open for these researchers. They were free of the usual cares connected with equipping work places. There was one essential point, however: till September of this year the average wage was 260 rubles.

The decision to begin conversion proved unexpected for the defence complex. Its personnel were convinced that they were badly needed by the state. Such a policy was pursued for decades. It was difficult to begin changes, since the whole life was devoted to the cause of defence. People firmly hoped that the authorities would think twice and free them of the need to effect conversion. The state importance of devising modern types of weapons was understood professionally. The difficulty of founding unique work collectives was also understood. Will it be possible to organize such collectives again after they have been broken up? What is needed is a different model of the military-industrial complex, ensuring security and opening the way to business activity rather than taking away the last crumbs.

The desire to continue the output of high-technology products and make the best use of the scientific and technological achievements is quite justified. This strategic line is embodied in the tackling of complex economic tasks: the introduction of synthetic diamonds, the devising of an X-ray computer tomograph, the extinguishing of oil fires, gamma-sterilization, the purification of rivers, ponds and lakes, the breaking up of large metal structures, modern technologies of monitoring. The civil goods manufacturers show an increasing desire to introduce the latest achievements of the defence industry for the modernization of their production. Large foreign companies have shown interest in the formation of joint collectives of scientists. However, these proposals become impracticable because of dwindling budget appropriations, and the danger of going bankrupt exists constantly.

The situation was saved by collective brain storming, induced by the Chelyabinsk-70 management, for determining the conversion priorities, with their subsequent collective analytical processing. Several hundred valuble and sometimes completely unexpected proposals were worked out. A rapid implementation of these proposals is hampered by our inertia and the inability of the Chelyabinsk-70 personnel to advertise them. The latter can be explained, however: those who have been trained to hold their tongues find it difficult to master advertising.

The preservation of the existing organizational structures and emphasis on intra-branch ties did not prove good for the Chelyabinsk-70 institute. When the conversion began, the institute was first approached by managers engaged in serial production. They asked the scientists to provide them as quickly as possible with designs of articles useful to consumers. But the scientists are not used to working quickly. Half a year for designing, another half a year for drawing up documentation, and one more half a year for bringing the pilot article to completion. When an article was ready at last, the managers engaged in serial production said: "We have been making frying pans for two years already, because we did not want to die of hunger and had to earn money." The ties between designers and manufacturers began to dissolve. New ties had to be established, and it was a painstaking process.

The greatest harm to conversion has been caused by the desire institute managers to avoid structural changes, to keep away the structures of an alternative economy. Without elaborating on this hackneyed theme I shall only note that people whom we now call dynamic can leave institutes which are generally poor in businessmen. Nor will the backlog of proposals help. A sad fate awaits the defence enterprises which do not have the means to put these proposals into effect.

Such are the main initial decisions. Some of them have contributed to conversion while others delayed the rate of its implementation in Chelyabinsk-70. In other respects the town does not differ from others: the same long queues and coupons for food.

Simple things are lacking

When we discussed our common starting positions, Chelyabinsk-70 managers told us: "You physicians have the same problems." I replied: "You are mistaken because you have a role, and we have a fate." Just imagine: two inventors. One has invented how to kill a million people and the other how to cure a million. The first will be offered the best conditions for his work. The second inventor can apply to the Ministry of Public Health for years and his proposal will, as a rule, be buried right on its threshold. Moreover, the defence industry received larger funds. It was a sensation for us to learn that at the end of the year one of the Pentagon organizations borrowed money from the Association of Surgeons of the US. The Soviet Association of Medical Radiologists, with a membership of 100,000 skilled workers, has about 50,000 rubles in its account. This sum is not enough to buy one X-ray unit. Health protection is considered a free service and is excluded from the sphere of material production costs, though each of its steps has a concrete cost. Over 80 percent of diagnostic procedures have no fixed rates, though they make up a greater part of the medical budget. Nevertheless they are planned.

Let's take up the painful question of so-called hospital beds. The efficiency of their use has dropped by 60 percent. This means that operations will be made on four of every ten patients in surgical clinics. The others will play dominos or take walks with their relatives. The same order exists everywhere in our country, and is reflected in all, ranging from the psychology of labour to the distribution of cotton wool and alcohol.

The material and technical basis of the health service is in an appalling condition. Simple things are lacking, such as solutions, linen, stitching material, instruments, regular drugs and dental borers. It is easier to say what there is in abundance, leaving the question of the quality of articles aside.

The stagnation in the public health service is intensified by the present education system. The process of training specialists in the narrow field, now under way in the world, is artificially stimulated. The situation is aggravated by the personnel policy. The point is that most skilled scientific and practical workers are barred from the administration of their respective services. This limits their work and the work of collectives led by them by the interests of medicine, not public health, which makes some difference. There are fewer and fewer individuals capable of making integral and especially statesmanlike decisions.

Attempts to change something, even partially, by appealing to high public health authorities are naive.

As for the real cause – in civilized countries the ministries of public health deal mainly with forecasts, planning and expertise, not the daily work of doctors – our authorities are not ready to adopt new approaches. Besides, their hands are tied by the order which they have been appointed to observe. Unfortunately, the record of hospitals and clinics headed by them is one of achieving higher indices in their work, while the slogans of free medical care and preventive treatment accessible for everyone are no longer able to conceal the conceptual poverty.

I deliberately talk about shortcomings, not mentioning the obvious successes. Frankly speaking, we have only two profoundly developed fields: the doctrine of clinical examination for the prevention and treatment of diseases and the ideology of military medicine. The authors of the preventive medical system have not been surpassed theoretically till now, while the authors of military medicine recently completed their work with conclusions formulated back in 1925.

As regards the doctrine of military medicine, it would be interesting to recall its history or, more exactly, the circumstances in which it appeared. At the end of 1941, the Soviet leadership adopted a decision on the evacuation of government offices from Moscow. The main part of the ministry of public health went to Kuibyshev, while its records went to Ufa by someone's mistake. A small core of the chief military medical department remained in the capital. It consisted of its head, main specialists and several typists. According to historians, it was a bright period in the record of the medical "headquarters." It was able to develop a serious concept which became one of the main reasons for our victory in the war.

Unfortunately, the existing system of administration in the public health service does not have a concept of development and is unable to carry out radical changes in this sphere. And with such a record it is going to enter a market economy.

In the next issue read an article about attempts to save the military-industrial complex

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Authoritarian games

To head off the comeback of totalitarianism, people should perceive the reforms as their very own cause

German Diligensky

According to opinion polls, about half of the country's population hopes for positive final results of reform and are ready to endure new privations for some time for the sake of its success. However, the other half already shows hostility towards the reform projects which negatively affect the standard of living, and, as the prices grow and unemployment increases, the mass opposition may grow too. Trust in Yeltsin is not boundless.

Cassandras of totalitarianism

The camp of anti-reformist opposition is redeploying its forces now. The main *dramatis personae* in this camp are partocrats of the former CPSU who are still rather strong locally, and the so-called national patriotic forces. Both, with the exception of extremist groups of little importance, refrain from advertising their ideological positions for fear of losing the support of the masses. The main platform uniting the opposition is a *sui generis* conservative populism: reforms are carried out without reckoning with the people's interests and without its participation. The democrats' former demand to democratize power structures will backfire on them.

In a number of Russia's autonomies conservative populism merges with local nationalism and separatism. According to some forecasts, this trend can unite nearly half of Russian parliamentarians while its chances are, possibly, still better in some autonomies.

This correlation of forces reveals how important for the success of reforms are activity, energy and the will of all those who understand their necessity. The spiritual and moral climate today encourages manifestation of these qualities only too little. It is characterized by increasing masochism, hopelessnes, and a deficit of positive ideas and values. We are intensely being prepared for the perspective of an inevitable "terrible Russian riot" or a coup which will re-establish totalitarianism. The alternative is also suggested – the present Russian authorities must be authoritarian. "Since Russia has no chance to have a really functioning democratic regime," writes political scientist Andranik Migranyan, "Yeltsin will have to resort to dictatorship either to carry out reforms or to impose a 'national-socialist regime.'"

Most of Russia's citizens do not want to return to totalitarianism. Doesn't matter – answer our home-baked Cassandras – our totalitarian future is predetermined...

Thus is fostered society's lack of faith in its own strength, while the people's social activity is suppressed.

"Free hand" from the people's hand

Recently there have appeared signs of a nihilistic attitude to parliamentary and municipal democracy in some influential circles which originated from the democratic movement. This type of democracy has presumably played its role already and must now make a place for a strong, in fact authoritarian, power. Essentially, a regime of plebiscite democracy is suggested – leaders of all levels and their teams are elected by universal suffrage and given practically unlimited "freedom of hand" till the next elections. The arguments in favour of this arrangement seem quite rational: ineffectiveness and incompetence of most representative bodies and the necessity to put in good order the activity of power structures. However, both the country's and the world experience shows that uncontrolled (or controlled only "from above") executive power is highly vulnerable to corruption and subject to degenerating into mafia structures.

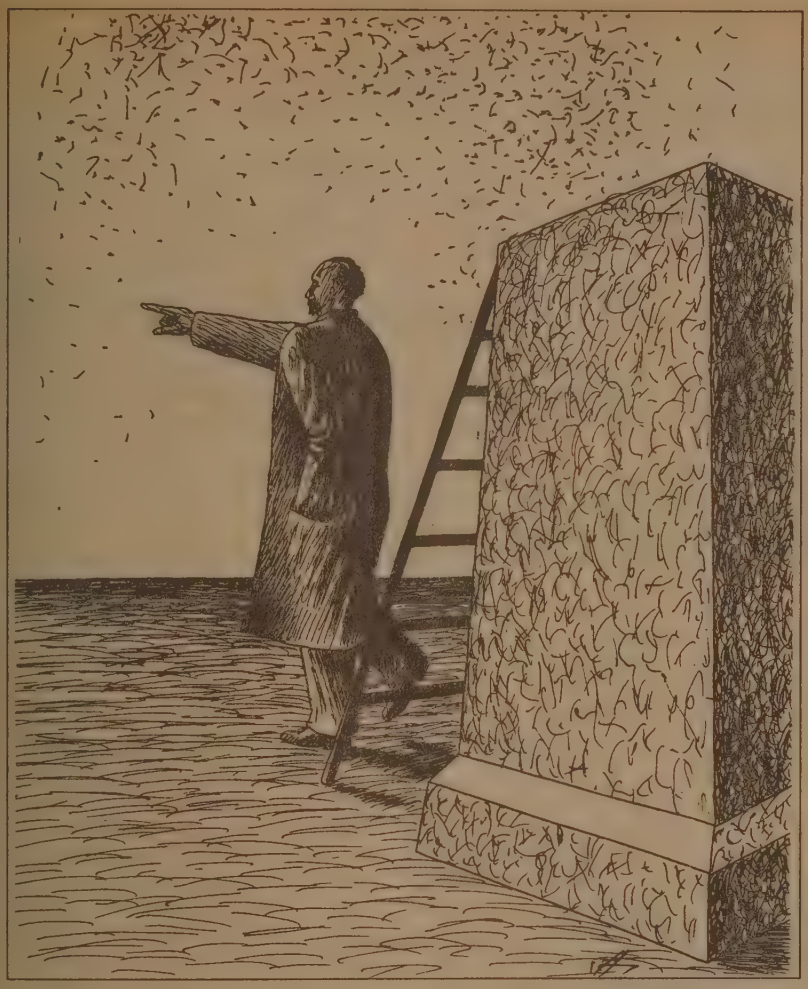
In the present Russia authoritarian executive power would, most probably, lead to a serious distortion of the entire perspective of transition to a market economy. Deprived of links with society, to a certain degree guaranteed by the institutions of parliamentary democracy, this power, to avoid isolation, will have to seek support and assistance from the most organized and economically strong social forces. The latter are represented in our country by the leading circles of the state-owned economic sector, especially of the military-industrial complex, as well as groups of former party and state apparat which were transferred to the new power structures. Common origin and mentality often unites them with new political leaders. Hence a perspective of transition to a monopolist market and state capitalism (as a result of developing relations between the state sector and Western capital), which will preclude a large-scale development of free enterprise, competition and overcoming economic stagnation. On both the national and local levels, the authoritarian executive power will, most probably, try to form groups of private business directly connected with it, suppressing and ousting from full-fledged participation in economic life all "aliens," which will obviously result in the strengthening of mafia structures.

This danger can be neutralized only by a well thought-out correlation of powers of executive bodies and parliamentary and municipal organs exercising control over their activities. The corps of deputies, in its turn, is not immune to corruption. This argument stands to reason, of course, but one can't fail to see the principal advantage of having these organs – they represent different social interests independent of the state, including those of various groups of business and employees, and this circumstance alone will force them to find solutions based on coordination of interests and compromise. As for incompetence of a considerable part of deputies and their readiness to resort to disputes and squabbles on issues of secondary importance, all this is, evidently, inevitable "infantile infirmity" of democracy.

The strengthening of executive (primarily presidential) power structures and creation of a strong "vertical" of power is absolutely justified. Yet all these measures will prove unsuccessful if they do not find active support among sufficiently wide and representative social forces in every region and in the country as a whole. However, such support cannot be ensured outside the framework of the parliament and local representative bodies of power.

"To avoid war at all costs..."

Today aggravation of ethnic problems and separatist movements in former union republics and autonomies becomes an increasingly serious obstacle on the path of reform. Any attempts to suppress separatism



Drawing by Arkady Gursky

and nationalism by forcible methods, by "tightening the screws," will, in all probability, have exactly the opposite result. Those who suggest such methods proceed from the argument of inevitable upheaval of the Russian national movement, analogous to those in other countries of former Socialist System and former Soviet republics.

Such a perspective is fraught with further aggravation of ethnic conflicts and their escalation to armed confrontation. And, of course, with the loss of the last chance for serious reforms in economics. The peril of the growth of Russian nationalism is absolutely real in the present crisis situation, but there are no reasons to consider inevitable repetition in Russia of events that take place in Yugoslavia and Transcaucasia, because many of those historical, cultural and psychological prerequisites which engendered militant nationalism in other countries are absent in Russia.

The overwhelming majority of the Russian Federation's population is much more tolerant towards separatist movements in former republics and autonomies than politicians. Its main concern is the danger of Russia's possible involvement in a civil war. And its main demand is a healthy economy. These are the priority demands of the people which ought to be the Russian leadership's point of departure. Interethnic conflicts can be temporarily settled by means of compromises, even if partial and temporary, such compromises will help maintain at least an unstable balance and will focus concentration on the most important task – the carrying out of reform. I think this approach fully corresponds to the recent agreements reached in Belovezhskaya Pushcha. True, Cassandras continue uttering ominous prophecies, and announce the triple agreement detonator of future explosions. What reasons? None...

A Russian General de Gaulle?

Unfortunately, the reformist parties and movements existing in our country so far have been unable to ensure political mobilization of the masses under the banner of reform. Neither of them commands a mass influence; all of them are weakened by the absence of a clear "image" and by numerous inter-partite and internal controversies. The lack of bright and authoritative leaders is also felt. Such notions as "market" and "private property" which play the central role in their propaganda are offered not as indispensable mechanisms of sanitating and normalizing the economy, but as supreme ideological values. Such an approach is uneasy to assimilate by the mass mentality and leads one to suspect that democrats protect the interests of the wealthy and ignore the interests of common people and the principles of social justice.

Today mass popular support of reforms could be ensured, most probably, by a wide non-party and interparty movement wholely concentrated on the tasks of overcoming the economic crisis. Such a movement, organized on the "round table" principle and uniting different people and diverse social and political groupings for the sake of finding optimal solutions taking into account diverse interests, could work out suggestions and recommendations for the president, parliament, government, and bodies of local power. Considering Boris Yeltsin's unique moral and political status, incomparable with the popularity of any other democratic leader or political party, it may be presumed that only his name could guarantee wide popular support for this movement. It would be incorrect to see in a movement headed by the President himself and at the same time internally pluralistic, active only in the period of economic stabilization, a path towards a personal dictatorship. As the experience of developed countries shows, a sharp growth of the role played by an authoritative leader in conditions of an acute political crisis and ineffectiveness of "regular" institutions of power helps stabilize the situation without shatterring general democratic foundations of a political system. Especially demonstrative in this regard is the example set by General de Gaulle.

At present the system of linkage between the institutions of power and democratic political organizations on the one hand, and the old and new social forces, such as, for instance, entrepreneurs and farmers, managers, labour movements, science and scholarly intelligentsia, medical workers and teachers, on the other, is still very underdeveloped. It is of primary importance to help these forces settle themselves as independent social subjects and to conduct a continuous dialogue with them, "bringing" them together for a productive political communication.

People must feel that reforms are effected by themselves and not by some unknown forces alien to their interests.

Palestinians remain divided on ways of struggle

If the PLO leadership resigns under the pressure of Islamic fundamentalists and Habash-led terrorists, Tel Aviv will probably have no one to talk with

1988. Yasser Arafat declares de facto recognition of Israel

The Palestinian state does not actually exist, yet it already has plenty of officials. They are bustling about in the corridors of the PLO headquarters in Tunis, carrying papers from one room to another. Telephones ring continually. Notes are being drawn up and dossiers collected. Officials pretend to be very busy and seem to drink coffee ceaselessly.

Palestinians vs. Palestinians

PLO supporters welcome the peace talks between Israelis and Arabs in Madrid and Washington and give Israeli soldiers red carnations, sticking them into the muzzles of guns. At the same time their main rivals in the occupied territories – members of the terrorist fundamentalist organization Hamas (Valour) – are establishing their order in Palestine.

One day five men in camouflage cloaks with their faces covered burst into the house of 28-year-old Basima Belhat, who lived in a Palestinian refugee camp not far from Nablus. They took her away with them. The next morning an Israeli officer ordered her husband, Nadim, to follow him. They walked about 100 metres and saw a woman hanged on a tree. Her body was mutilated. "Your wife?" the officer asked. Nadim bent his head in silence.

It is rumoured that Basima, mother of four children, was executed by members of the HAMAS movement for adultery. A girl who knew Basima well said at the funeral: "We are afraid of not only Israeli soldiers but also of Palestinian butchers – participants of the *intifada.*"

Palestinians kill their compatriots. During the "war of stones" in particular, 458 Palestinians have been executed by their compatriots for various offences, mostly for "collaboration with occupation authorities or for the failure to observe the Islamic laws." This is nearly half the total number of Palestinians killed in the *intifada.*

As the Middle East conflict increasingly reached

a deadlock HAMAS gained new supporters. Some 60 percent of 650,000 inhabitants of the Gaza strip and 40 percent of 750,000 Palestinians on the west bank of the Jordan River consider themselves fundamentalists. HAMAS does not affiliate with the PLO and labels as "defeatists" those who favour negotiations with Israel. It insists on revoking decisions passed by the 19th session of the National Council of Palestine, which recognized Israel de facto, and demands that the National Council also reject Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which call for a political settlement of the Middle East problem.

HAMAS calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state on the entire former mandate territory of Palestine within the 1948 borders. Israel must disappear. A similar position is held by Al-Jihad al-Islami, an organisation which maintains close ties with Islamic fundamentalists of several Moslem countries, notably Iran. It is they who kill Jewish pedestrians, shoot at army patrols, throw grenades in Jewish settlements and simultaneously do away with Palestinians who oppose fundamentalists.

HAMAS has large sums at its disposal. While the regime of strict austerity is practised in the PLO (I was told in Tunis that written permission from Arafat is required for the issuing of an amount exceeding 50 dollars) the members of HAMAS spend money freely. Saudi Arabia grants the fundamentalists 26 million dollars a month. This amount went to the PLO before the war in the Persian Gulf.

The most far-sighted and enlightened sections of Palestinian society reject the methods used by HAMAS. At one of the meetings of Palestinian intellectuals a student exclaimed: "Let's stop the hand of murderers. We are gradually turning into a fascist society."

Ahmed and Haim

In Tunis I met with Ahmed Abder Rahman, press attache of the President of Palestine, who more often than other informs the world of Arafat's stand. He is 46 years old and is regarded as a moderate official of the PLO.

"The first memory of my childhood is a cemetery," he told me. "I was five years old when my mother mourned the death of our father. He died in his homeland, Palestine, at the hands of Jewish terrorists. For many years I deeply hated Israelis because they had deprived me of Palestine. However, when I fought against Jews I did not feel hatred for them. After all, we are brothers. Arabs and Jews have always lived in peace. Let's recall medieval Spain. Unlike the Christian world the Arab peoples have never had pogroms, ghettos or holocaust... Many Jews live today quietly here in Maghreb. May Allah send them good health and prosperity.

"In 1979 I met with an Israeli in Geneva," Rahman continued, "and I told him: 'Haim, go away from my land. You have no right to live in Palestine.' The Jew replied: 'Ahmed, Palestine is also my land. I was born there and do not have another homeland.' I thought over his words and began to revise my position. We, Jews and Arabs, have to live together."

In the opinion of Rahman, there are two dimensions, ordinary and official, in this conflict of which the world is already tired. At an ordinary level people coexist with each other – trade, squabble and have friendly relations. There are mixed marriages. A fourth of the Arab population of Palestine works at Israeli companies. Contacts are also maintained by politicians. Abi Natan, a former Israeli pilot and now a pacifist, visited Tunis and talked with Arafat. Secret meetings are held between members of parliament of the two states. But the most important thing is lacking – there are no official contacts. Such a situation cannot and must not continue indefinitely. The minds of Israeli government officials are dominated by a stereotype: if you are a Palestinian you are a terrorist...

"The Palestinian movement has come a long way," Rahman says. "It took us 40 years to recognize Israel's right to existence. We declared this openly in 1988."

"Every day of procrastination gives one more chance for our ultras," Rahman believes. "George Habash and Itzhak Shamir are birds of a feather. The Israelis and those who back them should realize that without us, I have in mind the present leadership of the PLO, a war may break out in the Middle East, and the Israelis will then have no one to talk with."

An ice wall

Bassam Abu Sharif, 46, the main political adviser of Arafat, lives in the outskirts of Tunis. His villa is closely guarded – though, it is said, not against Israelis but against radical Palestinians...

It is practically impossible to find him alone in his office. While Bassam is interviewed by a Western journalist a team of cameramen waits for him in the anteroom.

His life is a good example of the changes which have taken place in the minds of many Palestinians. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Bassam led the PLO group responsible for the hijacking of airliners. He dreamed of regaining Palestine only by force of arms. Abu Sharif's views began to change drastically after an Israeli bomb skillfully planted in a "present" – a book about Che Guevare – blew up in his hands. "I thought that I would kill an Israeli in revenge," he recalls, "but I was unable to kill them all. On the other hand, they could kill me. But they would be unable to do away with all Palestinians."

This argument gradually persuaded him to depart from terrorism and understand that it is senseless.

Before the PLO came out with its peace initiative in 1988 Abu Sharif set it forth in the Washington Post. Rumours were instantly spread that he would have to resign. But Bassam still holds his post. "If you want to know what Arafat thinks go boldly to Bassam," I was advised by my Palestinian acquaintances.

"A peaceful solution of the Middle East problem is possible," Bassam thinks. "One should only strictly follow the UN resolutions. The Palestinians are prepared to reach a compromise. We support the formula "land for peace." We are also ready to give additional security guarantees to Israel. I am sure that a demilitarized Palestinian state under strict international control will guarantee the security of the Zionist state. For this purpose we propose stationing Soviet and American troops on the borders of our two countries. We are prepared to make certain territorial concessions with regard to the West Bank and the Gaza strip, though, properly speaking, security guarantees are sooner needed by the Arab neighbours of Israel. For instance, Israel has nuclear weapons and we do not. So who threatens whom?

"Time is pressing," Bassam says. "We think that 80 percent of Palestinians support the peace talks. But confidence in us is waning while the chances of Habash and HAMAS are increasing. Ordinary Palestinians will soon ask: 'What are you doing there, in Tunis? Where is peace?' There is a wall between us and Israel. But, I am sure, it is a wall of ice."

People – an instrument of struggle

Two PLO leaders, interviewed separately, called George Habash one of the main oppo-

nents of peace negotiations between the Arabs and Israel. The leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine has been dubbed "Mr No" in the Arab world. Habash is a good public speaker. The North Korean and Cuban ambassadors can often be spotted at the mass rallies organized by him. Habash receives weapons from Libya. His groups are well armed and very dangerous. The opinion of Habash should be taken into account because a considerable section of Palestinians share the views of this militant Judophobe. Speaking with journalists at the 20th session of the National Council of Palestine in Algeria, Habash said: "We must intensify our struggle against the Zionist entity. We must strike blows at its economy, carry out terrorist acts against Israeli soldiers and settlers... We must declare forthright: the Palestinians are against resolutions 242 and 338 and the peace talks. We do not recognize Israel's right to existence."

Habash calls for Jihad

Traitors from the PLO are to blame for the insufficient progress of the *intifada*. In view of their tactic of concessions to the Zionist enemy, Habash believes, the PLO must become the headquarters of the struggle against the occupation troops and unite all genuinely patriotic forces of the country. Islamic fundamentalists should be included in the common struggle. Those who oppose this are accomplices of world imperialism. Indeed, the holy war, or *jihad*, will involve human losses. But the more crimes the Zionist enemy perpetrates, the more resolutely will be waged the *intifada*. More victims – better for the Palestinian revolution. People are an instrument of struggle.

"The PLO leaders in Tunis are political bankrupts," Habash says."These satisfied bureaucrats have driven themselves into a corner with their tactic of concessions to the enemy, preferring diplomatic to military methods and hoping for a change in Washington's pro-Zionist policy in the Middle East... In the organization, which includes various Palestinian movements, Arafat's Fath group has taken the upper hand. Ninety-five of one hundred Palestinian ambassadors abroad are representatives of this group..."

Is Habash so principled indeed? Doesn't he strive, as I was told in Tunis, only for a redistribution of cushy posts in the leadership of the PLO and in its diplomatic missions?

"One more aim of our organization," Habash continued, "is to prevent the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, that is, to our historical homeland. In 1990 about 200,000 Soviet Jews broke into our home without permission. One more million Zionists are expected to come in the next five years. The Soviet emigrants should realize that Palestine is not their homeland, that the land flowing with milk and honey will inevitably become a place of death for them."

* * *

Among the numerous portraits of Yasser Arafat hanging in his office I noticed a small table with a dictum from the Holy Book of Moslems. "The choice of Allah of all his lands is Jerusalem..." it says. "The dew which descends upon Jerusalem is a remedy from every sickness because it is from the gardens of Paradise."

It is a long way to paradise in the Middle East. However, the road to paradise may prove to be the road to hell.

Yakov Borovoy
NT special correspondent
TUNIS–MOSCOW

Jihad is over?

Yasser Arafat is not confident and can't be seen as a serious partner

Yasser Arafat is engaged in unending games which sometimes only he can understand. The Islamic Conference summit in Dakkar demonstrated the desire of many Islamic leaders to recognize the existing realites. The Conference adopted 26 resolutions, including one condemning terrorism and supporting the Mideast peace process, and condemning Saddam Hussein's aggression against Kuwait.

That was when Yasser Arafat made his indignant speech. He demanded that Islamic states adopt a resolution on Jihad, the Moslim holy war, against Israel. "What should I tell those Palestinian, Arab and Moslim martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Jerusalem?" he asked. "Should I really tell them that the word *jihad* has been omitted from the Islamic encyclopedia and vocabulary?"

The Islamic delegations felt quite uneasy upon hearing that, nonetheless they displayed firmness and declined the bellicose resolution.

Hearing Arafat's fiery speeches one can only recall how mercurial the Orient is: it was only recently that *New Times* (50/91) wrote about the positive changes in the PLO leadership, its new constructive approach to the peace process and rejection of extremism. And all of a sudden the leader who has been seen as a moderate makes an extremist statement calling, while the delicate and fragile peace talks are reaching a climax in Washington, for the severance of all peace talks and the beginning of a total war in the region.

The Reuter correspondent reported from the capital of Senegal that the majority of Islamic leaders chose not to attend the summit in order to avoid meeting Arafat and King Hussein who supported the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The opponents of the Iraqi aggression have understood for a long time that war is no way to solve Mideastern problems.

The Arafat statement shows that he has learned nothing.

Since the PLO acts as an advisor and a sort of sponsor of the Palestinian delegation at the Washington talks, one could naturally get the idea that heeding the call of their only legitimate leader, the Palestinians would leave Washington and set off to fight Israel.

Nothing like this happened. The Palestinian delegation representing the Israel-occupied lands chose to act independently. The meetings and talks with the Israeli delegation continue, while the PLO seems to have been left out in the cold and away from the peace process. Will Yasser Arafat's declarations of peace be trusted? It is understandable that the pragmatic Yasser Arafat from time to time has to appease the Palestinian radicals craving to destroy the Zionist entity. However, this kind of political acrobatics may be dangerous.

Dmitry Zgersky

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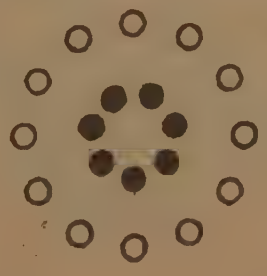

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A plan for a settlement between Moscow and the Baltic states

The Swedish plan for military strategic coexistence between Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and the former Union may not be approved by hotheads in Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius and Moscow. But if one considers it seriously...

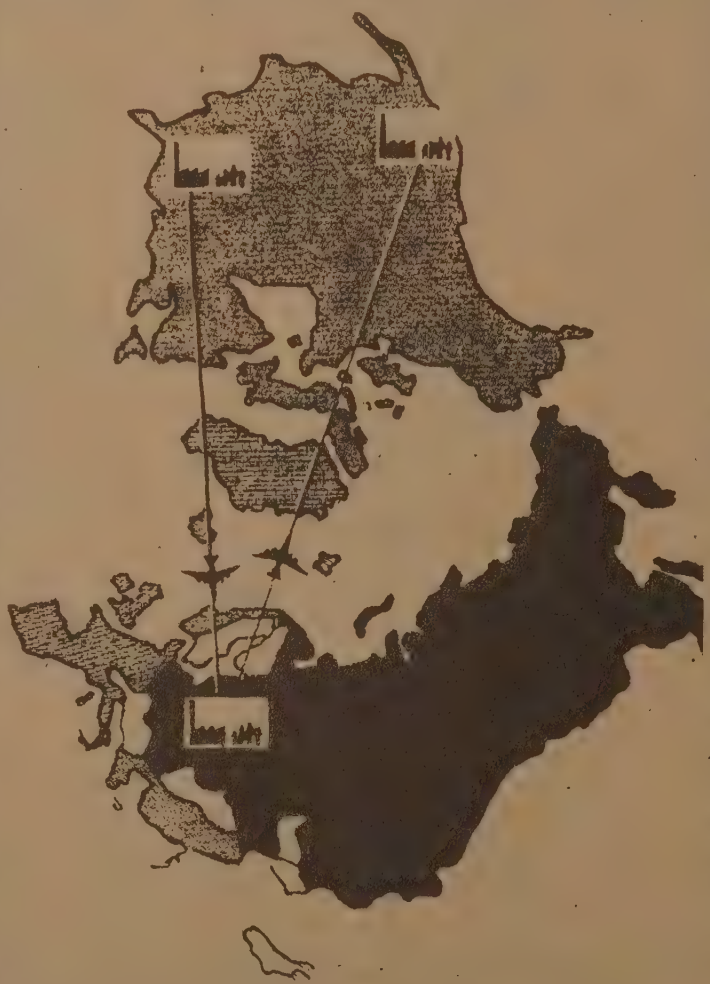
After the break-up of the Warsaw Treaty Organization the Soviet Union lost the buffer zone on the western line of defence, the northern flank of which rested on the Baltic states. The army group stationed on their territory became unimportant. There is no need now to cover the army installations being dismantled in the east of Germany and in Poland. A massed attack by land forces through the Baltic states cannot be expected in the near future. For this purpose Germany would have, in particular, to stop cuts in the Bundeswehr and increase its strength three times at least while NATO would have to deploy more than five divisions of its mobile landing forces. The Soviet land, tank, artillery and rocket forces have nothing to do in the Baltic states. Some units could be disbanded within their dispositions while others could be moved to the St. Petersburg military region, now to become the main operating and base area of ground defence in the north-west of Russia.

Return to Kronstadt

The Baltic fleet will have to reappraise the purpose of its existence and, naturally, the character of planned operations. The Baltic Sea is a "big pool" locked by NATO in the straits. The nuclear missile fleet is generally not needed there. Besides, in the event of a war large ships would be instantly sunk by enemy aviation. In the past the Warsaw Treaty planned to partition the Baltic Sea by three mine fields starting from the former German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Baltic republics of the USSR in order to provide cover for its land operations in central Europe and, as the West feared, for the mass landing of amphibious and airborne forces to capture airfields and ports in Sweden, southern Norway and Denmark. The ultimate aim of planning was to establish control over the entire zone east of the North Sea.

No one today devises plans like this and therefore it would be reasonable to cut the fleet by writing off a large number of old ships. The remaining modern ships and submarines would be based mainly in Kaliningrad and St. Petersburg. The central task of the fleet would apparently be to cover the gap between the ports from the sea. Kaliningrad will be the main area for the operational deployment of the fleet and Kronstadt will be its rear base. True, a quick relocation is impracticable because the supply reserves and repair plants of the fleet are now situated in Liepaja and other ports of the Baltic states. It would be good to receive the consent of the new states for the transition period during which the Baltic fleet could use the old bases while gradually pulling its forces out of the region. Later on, it would also be useful to secure the right to peace calls at some ports of the Baltic states.

Things are more complex with anti-aircraft and anti-missile defence installations. The north-western sector is crucial for the defence of central Russia, the Kola Peninsula, the Archangel region, Belorus and the Ukraine – areas where industry, transport, the population, political centres and strategic forces are concentrated. The shortest trajectories of a missile strike from the US territory and the routes of planes from bases in Britain, Germany, Norway, Iceland,



The tracks of intercontinental missiles and flight routes of strategic aviation, according to Sweden's defence ministry

Greenland, Canada and the United States lie over the Baltic Sea. The tracks of cruise missiles and shipborne aircraft, to be concentrated by NATO in the North Atlantic in the event of a conflict, also lie over the Baltic Sea. Today there is little probability of such an attack. But NATO preserves strength for it and therefore it would not be out of place to think about countermeasures.

How to reach a settlement

It would not simply be expensive but also senseless to transfer Soviet radar stations and airfields from the Baltic coast into the inner part of Russia, because radar stations will have to detect aircraft and missiles not at a large distance but during their approach to targets and interceptors and anti-aircraft missile systems will not have enough time to repel an attack.

Theoretically, it is possible, but only partly so, to replace ground radars with airborne ones and duty fighters on the runway with patrol flights. However, the cost will be very high while the reliability and the range of action will sharply decrease. Seaborne means of air defence, like the aircraft carrier Kremlin, are fabulously expensive and cannot be used in the Baltic Sea. There remains a space variant of the air- and anti-missile defence system. But though Moscow has taken a less restrained attitude to the American proposals in this respect, many years and billions of rubles will be needed to build appropriate devices and there is no confidence that they will be effective.

The keeping of Soviet air- and anti-missile defence capability is a top military priority at Moscow's talks with Estonia, Lithuania and especially Latvia where the Soviet anti-missile defence centre is located. Moscow could frankly describe the situation and state that permission to use the installations would be regarded as a very friendly step. It would have a positive effect in other issues, in the economy and power supply, for instance. Reversely, the refusal to "understand our position" would be regarded as an act undermining the national security of the Union and Russia and overshadowing relations between neighbours.

There must be no blackmail on the part of anyone. But the dialogue between equals calls for honesty, the more so as the Baltic states need minimum defence for the years in which they will raise their national armies. Real assistance can come only from the Union. Though Lituania seems to have asked Norway and Britain in give it assistance in this sphere and Sweden has expressed readiness to send military attaches and advisers to the region, financial pressure will not allow the Baltic states to buy military equipment and weapons from the West on a large scale. The turning over of Soviet military equipment to the three new states depends on their readiness to meet Moscow's interests halfway. For objective reasons and in spite of the present complicated situation, further military cooperation, which is inevitable, will be made easier by their mutual agreement today.

Lastly, the fears of local residents of non-Baltic origin cannot be ignored. Prior to my recent trip to Estonia and Latvia I considered them exaggerated. However, after visiting these regions I became convinced that these fears were wide spread. People fear not so much what is taking place as what can take place, they expect the worst. The new authorities allege that such fears are absolutely unfounded. The problem could be solved by retaining a modest Soviet military presence for some time. Being of the defensive character only, it would serve as a token guarantee of security for the Slavs frightened by the course of events.

The schedule for withdrawing troops and the time of keeping installations in the Baltic states will naturally be set only at intergovernment talks. The beginning of these talks is being postponed now not through the fault of the putschists, but because of vagueness about who succeeds to the rights and commitments of the defunct Union. It would not be a mistake therefore to reach at least an unofficial outline agreement in the near future stating the principles of further work on a detailed solution of all military problems.

Staged withdrawal

Both parties could use as the basis the post-war agreement on Soviet military bases in Finland and the prewar status of Soviet troops in then independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In accordance with this status, for instance, the strength of Soviet units could not exceed that of the national armies and was to be curtailed gradually. The strength of Soviet troops would quickly diminish from the present 100,000 to 40,000 or even 35,000. They would stay in their barracks, pay for the land and for the services, and would in no way interfere in the domestic affairs of the republics. The airborne troops, marines, motorized infantry units and tank crews are the first to go. All heavy weapons are to be withdrawn immediately. A procedure is to be set for handing over the property, arms included, to the national armies of the republics. There can be no talk of any compensation for the real estate left by the troops. The problem of military transit through Lithuania to Kaliningrad is to be solved.

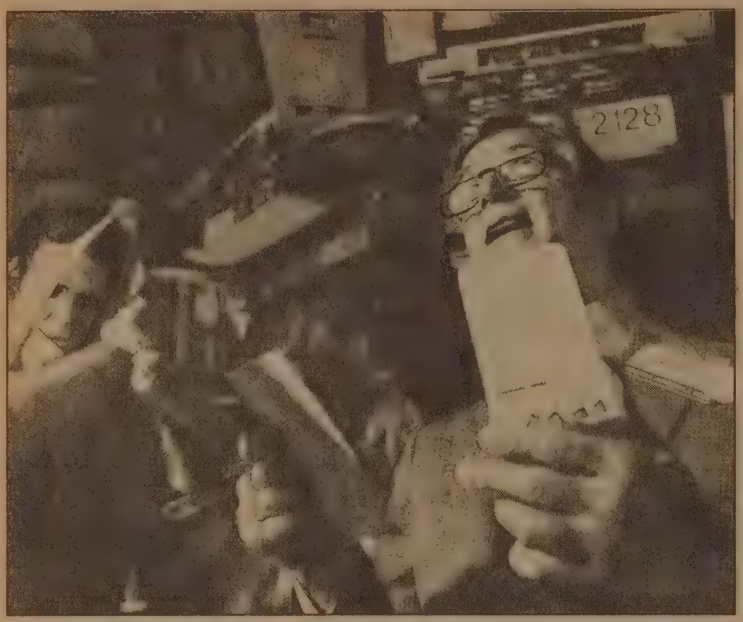
The withdrawal of Soviet troops is to be completed in the main by the end of 1994. The anti-aircraft and anti-missile defence units remain for a longer time, but not indefinitely, with the host country having the right to control whether their activity conforms to the agreements reached. A local liaison officer will represent his government at a base. Special agreements on defence cooperation might be concluded. However, they will not limit the sovereignty of the republics or their right to individual and collective defence.

In accordance with the wishes of young states, which are not interested in the regional arms race, Russia and Belarus could agree to special measures of military détente and confidence in the adjoining areas. In their turn, the three Baltic states undertake to observe the provisions of the treaty on the limitation of conventional armed forces in Europe which concern the Baltic military region, that is, their territory.

The advocates of preserving "the military rights of the empire" and the hotheads in the Baltic states will apparently not like the foregoing scenario worked out by Swedish experts. However, in North Europe and even in NATO it has been accepted without serious objections because it does not create a military vacuum in the region and helps to ensure the reasonable security interests of the Baltic states and the Union and Russia. Soviet military presence in the Baltic Sea zone is also desirable to counterbalance the increased influence of the Federal Republic of Germany. At present the influence of Germany does not have an aggressive character. The unwarranted activity of the fleet or aviation of its allies — the United States and Briain — in the Baltic region is hardly probable.

Today there are no enemies in the Baltic Sea. The lessons of history show, however, that the situation in the region remained most stable in the periods of cooperation between Russia and Germany. Such cooperation took shape in the best way when the two countries had armed forces sufficient for defence, not far attack. It was in this situation that Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia gained independence after the first world war. There is now a chance to maintain the balance of forces at a low level. This chance must be used.

Alexander Polyukhov,
our own correspondent
TALLINN–RIGA–STOCKHOLM



Money makes the world go round

Yevgeny Rusakov

The task to form a system of reserve banks has been an inseparable part of all economic recovery programmes of the past few months. Boris Yeltsin spoke about it when he proposed the programme of sweeping economic reforms, and the Alma Ata version of the Economic Community Treaty also mentioned it. The Brest agreements outlined the banking agreement, and this agreement may share the fate of the reserve system.

... It has been twelve years since then, but Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York Peter Bakstansky still can't keep solemnity out of his voice as he recalls the reform of the Federal Reserve System in the US. He rises from his chair and gets his business planner from his huge desk.

It was Saturday October 6, 1979 – the key day in the history of the Federal Reserve System. It was on that day that the decision was made to cardinally change its functions, says Mr Bakstansky, his eyes shining behind the elegant frames of his glasses.

When he speaks about a cardinal change of policy, my interlocutor means the change of the way to reach the ultimate goal, which means a steady growth of the economy in the environment of relatively stable prices. It must be noted that in the United States the utopia about permanently stable prices is not advocated even by the most brazen advertising agents. In a normal economy, prices can occasionally go down, but its main feature is a steady growth of wages through greater productivity of labour and an accompanying growth of prices which, however, is slower than the growth of wages.

It's hard to earn hard currency. It's even harder to create it

Two scenarios

The US Central Bank has two scenarios of its activity.

In the conditions of economic decline, the Federal Reserve System expands the reserves of banks and other crediting establishments through open market transactions, thus bringing down the interest rates. In case economy is overheated, i.e., expands not through the growth of its potential, but through inflation, the Federal Reserve reduces the reserves. This results in a greater demand for credits and makes credits more valuable. "Expensive" money reduces the demand, harmonizes it with supply and thus brings the economy back to normal.

High interest rates contain business deals and investments, while stable low rates encourage them. Suppose I wish to buy a car for a credit carrying a 4 to 6 percent interest rate, but I cannot afford to pay 10 percent and, as a result, I have to postpone the purchase until happier times, Bakstansky explained. Or suppose a businessman wants to buy more advanced equipment or build a factory. In this case he calculates what his money will be worth in the long run. The businessman wants to be sure that profits he will get in return for his investments will not lose their value. He can only be sure of that if prices have not gone out of control and the central bank is pursuing a resolute anti-inflation policy.

Economic regulation through purposeful (but not administrative) influence on the commercial interest rate worked until somewhere in the mid-1970s. This mechanism stopped working after the West was hit by stagflation which had never before become chronic.

Purposeful increase of the interest rate, Bakstansky went on to say, accelerated inflation rather than curbing it. In the conditions of inflation psychology, workers keep demanding bigger wages, while entrepreneurs include the growing prices of labour; raw materials and credit in the final price of their product. A vicious circle appears. It would be impossible to set interest rates in countries with high inflation, such as Brazil or Argentina, anyway the level of interest rates would be defined by the financial market rather than central banks.

Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York again returned to the momentous day of the FRS reform:

"On October 6, 1979, it was decided to carry out purposeful regulation of the volume of reserves, while interest rates were made free floating. In-

Conclusion. For beginning see issue No.50

terest rates were formed in a natural way. Actually this meant that not all businesses and people would have as much money as they hoped to get. Resolute implementation of this policy resulted in the economic slump of the early 1980s. However, inflation psychology was overcome and by the fall of 1982 the longest period of economic growth in the history of the US started and continued until autumn of last year. After that, the FRS started to influence the level of interest rates in a more direct manner."

The logic of the Central Bank is as follows: if it heeds the calls from the Administration, the Congress of Businessmen, and in the conditions of a crisis-ridden economy provides for monetary expansion through selling off government securities, the interest rates at crediting institutions will be down for some time. However, later, the growing monetary mass will result in a consumption spree, great borrowing bringing about costlier credits, inflation and many other unpleasantries.

FRS experts are perfectly aware of the fact that monetary policy is a very important factor, but by no means the one that is decisive for the economy and inflation processes. Without going deep into such basic concepts as technology or labour productivity, FRS specialists speak about the influence of budgetary and taxation policies, entrepreneurs' approach to the price of hired labour, drastic price hikes, in particular those on the oil and grain markets, and the influence of economic policies of foreign countries. Finally, business psychology is very important as well: people's readiness to spend money can be influenced by a variety of factors ranging from predictions of a greater budget deficit and inflation to the events like the Persian Gulf War and the August developments in the Soviet Union.

"It is bad when the monetary policy and the budgetary-taxation policy are working in different directions," Bakstansky believes. "The dark side of Reagan's tax reduction was the absence of a corresponding reduction of government spending which resulted in a tremendous growth of the federal budget deficit.

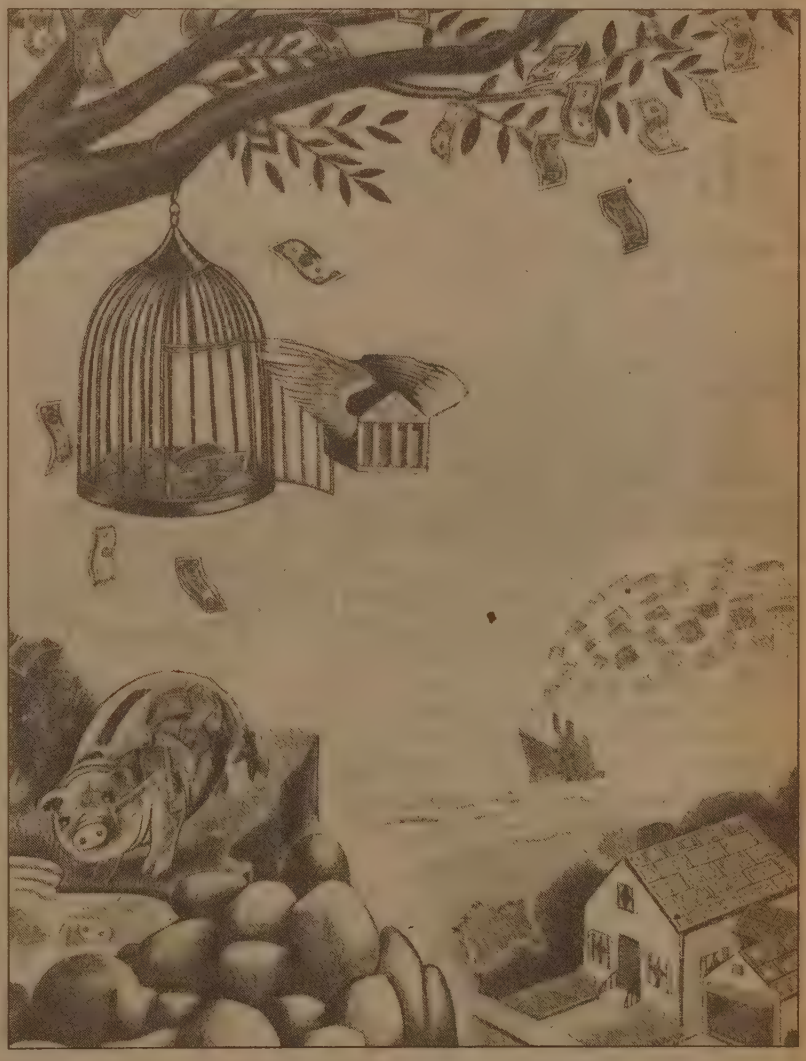
The not-quite-Federal Reserve System

Frankly speaking, it will be difficult to say how reasonable the concept of the Soviet reserve system is until there are (or as long as there are no) concrete documents and mechanisms defining its activities.

The US experience is to be borrowed in the field of reserve requirements imposed on commercial banks and in the field of general management. The new Community which has replaced the Soviet Union cannot borrow the experience of strictly unitary states like Japan or federal states with rigid crediting and financial policies, like Germany.

The American business and finance system is unique: everything in the US from the state to finance has developed from below and government control and coordination is minimized. Unlike in Japan or Germany, where governments, including central banks, work closely with business by assisting and directing it, in the United States businessmen are free from any supervision and the economy is ruled by the market alone.

Psychologically, the Soviet Union is more prepared to adopt the Japanese, French or German financial systems. There is no time to wait until the emerging Soviet business community matures enough to organize itself in complex modern structures. After the Meiji revolution in Japan, for instance, the Japanese government created a number of advanced industries and later, like Peter the Great, denationalized and transferred them to private trading houses, zaibatsu. In 1986, the Central Bank of Japan lowered the interest rate to the unprecedented 2.5 percent, thus encouraging companies to make fantastic investments in the upgrading of industry worth $600 billion.



The Economic Community Treaty stipulated the use of such instruments of direct influence on the monetary and credit system as the setting of quantitative parameters on operations of central banks, interest rates on bank credits and, naturally, reserve requirements imposed on commercial banks (the threat that some such banks may prove to be sham is quite realistic in this country). Added to this must be the correct definition of the exchange rate of the ruble, the selling of bank notes and coins and the control over the reserve of gold and hard currency. In his programme speech, Russian President Boris Yeltsin spoke about rigid direct control over the monetary expansion and issuing of credits. The Brest agreements also stipulate such important objectives as limitation of monetary expansion and effective control over the cash supply.

It seems that all the instruments are there. Now the main problem is how to put them to use. One does not feel good about making gloomy forecasts, but it is easy to imagine the situation when one of the newly-sovereign states starts increasing its budget deficit, using as a pretext the already familiar claims that other republics are plundering it and that it is necessary to help the poor and unfortunate local population. Actually, the Brest Economic Treaty stipulated concerted limitation of budget deficits, but the practical implementation of this provision will be a problem.

Another very difficult problem is presented by the bodies governing the banking system and their decision-making mechanism. The Americans stress that it is necessary for sovereign states of the former USSR to find an effective and fair way to divide powers. Like former Union Republics, the Americans are mostly concerned about Russia's dominance by virtue of its economic and financial might. On the other hand, Russia has reasons to be concerned as well: other members of the Community may vote down Russian proposals.

The idea of dividing the number of votes in the interbank agreement and the board of the chief bank on the basis of the amount of invested capital is attractive, but too primitive. However, after some corrections it may become perfectly acceptable. As is known, this idea was borrowed from the experience of the World Bank, the functions of which differ from those of central banks.

The recent debates in the European Community on the issue of setting up an integrated monetary system have shown that two variants are possible: either coordination of monetary policies of central banks of different states, or the determination of this policy by the one banking centre appointed by supranational or federal structures.

In the US the Federal Reserve System is headed by a Board of Directors which includes the President, the Vice-President and only seven out of 12 presidents of regional banks. This system provides for rotation of management and it is only the President of the New York Bank who is a permanent Board member by virtue of his position. Decisions are taken by simple majority vote, and the president of the Board has one vote, just like other Board members. His only privilege is his authority (if any).

The FRS Board is unique in the sense that it is a body of the whole government, which in the US embraces the administration and the Congress. This fact highlights the directors' special status making them independent from both the White House and the Congress. Seven Board members are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate for a term of fourteen years, which gives them a fair amount of independence from changes of sentiment in the Congress or the Administration.

This does not mean, of course, that FRS directors can do anything they please: they are to present regular reports about their work to the Congress, to take part in the work of various Administration bodies. They are also subject to press scrutiny and public opinion. However, the Board has all the necessary conditions to pursue a firm policy.

Reconciling republican currencies

It is a sad but logical situation: the banking system of the USSR has become a hostage to politics. The main controversy concerns the problem of the introduction of new currencies in republics.

Although the Brest agreements provide for the preservation of the ruble as the interrepublican monetary unit, they also allow introduction of republican monetary units. They include an important reservation that the introduction of republican currencies must be accompanied by agreements guaranteeing respect for the economic interests of all sides. The problem is how to make this provision more concrete and how to create a mechanism to implement it.

What do US experts think on this score?

They mostly tend to agree with Boris Yeltsin that the prospect of having ten or twenty central banks and currencies seems absurd.

You will not make any progress without an integrated monetary and credit system and the stable ruble, stressed Padma Desai, professor of Columbia University, expert in Soviet economic matters. It is impossible, for instance, to start privatization when the ruble is worth nothing.

American experts believe that coordination of the rates of exchange and monetary policies of former Union Republics may be a possible way, although not the happiest one. This coordination could be served by the ruble.

The situation in this country is catastrophic and there is no time to lose. The immediate priority is to stabilize the ruble, and in case any republic wants to introduce its own currency, to establish a normal rate of exchange of the new currency against the ruble.

It is difficult to live without money. It is even more difficult to earn good money, but it is most difficult to create a stable and sound monetary system. The task now is to eliminate financial illiteracy, political ambitions and contempt for economic realities.

NEW YORK

Photos and the drawing from Fortune (USA)

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Austrian Swat Squads in action
Photos from the magazine Bundesgendarmerie (Austria)

Knife for a minister

Guests of the "Cobra" who is always ready

The long bright yellow bus (children are taken to school in such buses) was racing down the alley of an old park. A sharp turn before a small bridge over a deep ravine forced the driver to slow down a bit. Just at that moment a gun went off. A dozen husky fellows in black overalls and steel helmets surrounded the bus. They had big shovels which they used to knock out the wide windows and then crawled in through them. And within seconds three terrorists lay on the ground and the hostages lined up against the wall.

The operation was accomplished without a single casualty. There shouldn't have been any. They were just practicing, though it was to simulate reality as much as possible. The exercise was carried out in front of the Soviet Minister of Internal Affairs, Viktor Barannikov at the Police School for the Austrian Swat Squads, the anti-terrorist division more often simply called "Cobra" since that's what is depicted on its emblem.

The school is on the grounds of the old estate of Schönau which is 40 kilometres south of Vienna. Some of our former fellow-countrymen are familiar with this place: at the beginning of the 1970s there was a camp for Jewish emigrants from the USSR here.

The seizure of Israeli sportsmen by Arab terrorists during the Olympic Games in 1972 in neighbouring Munich was taken as a warning by the Austrians. And a year later when the terrorists attacked a train at Marchegg railway station adjacent to Czechoslovak border with Jewish emigrants on it from the USSR, the strength of the anti-terrorist squads was augmented to 100 men and their responsibilities also increased.

Colonel Johannes Pechter says that on the squads there are 14 officers, 26 non-commissoned officers and 116 rank and file. Three dozen soldiers, 10 specialists in different areas – explosives, chemicals, paradropping, divers, etc. – and 2 officers are in constant combat readiness.

When there is trouble – people have been taken hostage or a plane hijacked – the squads are ready at a moment's notice to set out for any point in the country with everything necessary from firearms and communications equipment to parachutes, diving equipment, mountain ski and ordinary cars as well as armoured jeeps made at the local Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG. "We could use a hundred of those," longingly says Victor Barannikov looking at the APC. When necessary the Army provides planes and helicopters, and the railroad has a special train which has the right of way.

The "Cobra" also provides protection for a certain circle of people and sees to the security of Austrian Airlines especially on the Asian and Middle Eastern routes.

Sometimes they get unexpected assignments. For instance, at last Christmas the "Cobra" had to escort a column of trucks carrying humanitarian aid for Muscovites. The selection of members of the "Cobra" is very strict. One have to have the right physical attributes, have gone to police school, usually two years, and passed a psychological test and have gotten through a very thorough interview. About half of the applicants fail.

Every six months 20-25 men are taken on. The initial training takes half a year. Then for two years physical training is alternated with theoretical and practical lessons.

A pleasant surprise awaited the journalists visiting the training school as they were not up on all the details of the interaction of the internal affairs agencies of the two countries. When the officers were being represented to our minister the journalists heard greetings in Russian. It turned out that three Soviet officers – Mikhail, Victor, and Vladimir – had been doing their advanced training there. They asked their last names not be mentioned as they will have serious work to do when they return home.

As is often the case with our people abroad, they liked everything there: the uniform was nice and comfortable, and the guns excellent, beginning with the French revolver and ending with the rifles with special charges. They are more convenient than plastic explosives if it is necessary to break down a door: you shoot and a there's a hole the size of a saucer instead of the lock. Before leaving Schönau Colonel Pechter gave our minister a gift – the regular policeman's knife. (Barannikov quickly found the necessary kopeck to pay him back.) Handing the knife the commander, either as a joke or in earnest said: "Maybe this will come in handy in fighting with the new conspirators."

Anatoly Kovrigin,
our own correspondent
VIENNA

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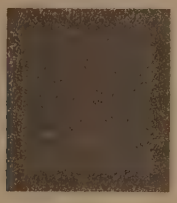

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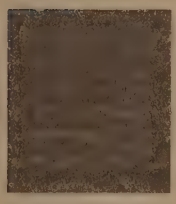

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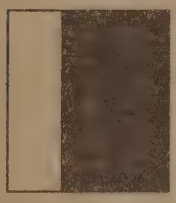

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ESSAY

God help us!

To each his own: in the East, Russian Orthodoxes have always preached fasting and begging and now live accordingly, while in the West Protestants have always censured poverty and idle talk and are now prospering

Valentin Petrushin

Lenin was quite right in maintaining that an idea which takes hold of the masses becomes a great material force. The question is, though, what kind of idea should take hold of the masses in order to put them on the road to prosperity.

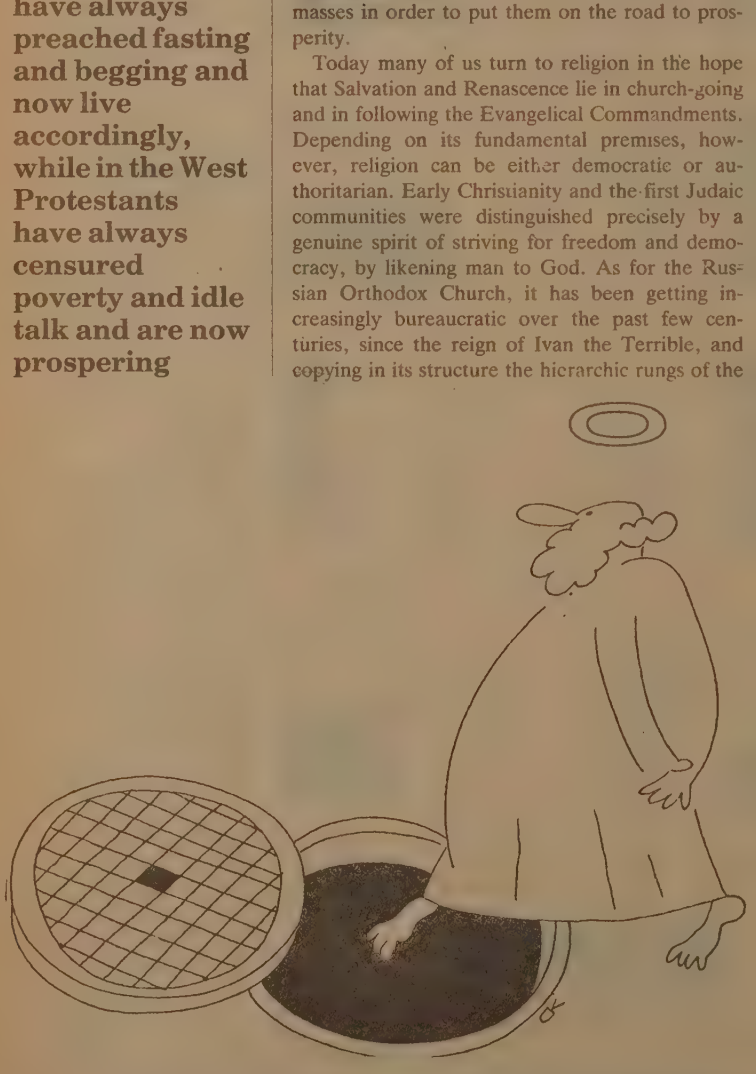
Today many of us turn to religion in the hope that Salvation and Renascence lie in church-going and in following the Evangelical Commandments. Depending on its fundamental premises, however, religion can be either democratic or authoritarian. Early Christianity and the first Judaic communities were distinguished precisely by a genuine spirit of striving for freedom and democracy, by likening man to God. As for the Russian Orthodox Church, it has been getting increasingly bureaucratic over the past few centuries, since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, and copying in its structure the hierarchic rungs of the authoritarian state: This finds its reflection in the doctrine saying that man is merely a slave to the Great Almighty God.

It is only one step from calling man a nobody, a slave to God, to regarding him as a cog in the machinery of the state. That might be a reason why under Stalin the atheistic but totalitarian state was indulgent towards the Church on the whole.

For the benefit of those who pin their hopes on the Church as Russia's (and other republics') only salvation, I shall cite a few remarks by Freud who has at last come to be recognized as an authority in this country.

Freud regarded religion as a manifestation of a neurosis common to all humans, which, like infantile neurosis, is rooted in the Oedipus complex. An adult's bent for religion is, in Freud's opinion, akin to a weak child's desire to be under the protection of a mighty father who takes freedom away but gives protection and shelter in exchange for obedience. Psychologically, such a person will never become a responsible, free and independent personality. In order to be one's own master, he has to deliver himself from guardianship on the part of a father figure, be it God or the impersonal state.

Freud likened religion to obsessive neurosis and maintained that truly religious people are well protected from the danger of developing neurotic diseases. This is due solely to the fact that universal neurosis, i.e. religion, precludes personal neuroses.



Drawing by Sergei Kupriya

God helps those who help themselves

As we shed the fetters of totalitarianism, we hasten to put on other fetters – those of religion. A religious person denies himself the powers of reason and independent judgement. Somehow we forget that despite its professed humanism, the Church has long been a legalized institution of slavery which helped rulers of every stripe hold the people in check.

Setting our hopes on God means admitting our weakness, because the more one believes in supreme irrational forces, the less one believes in one's own powers.

"In an authoritarian religion," the American psychiatrist Erich Fromm, a Freudist, writes, "God has the monopoly on what initialy belonged to man – reason and love. The more perfect God, the more imperfect man. Man projects the best of what he

possesses to God and thus impoverishes himself." In such a situation, man alienates himself from his own ego, and from now on whatever merits he has or may have belong to God. Substitute God with the State or a political party, and you will get the triumph of the ideology of the authoritarian church or of a totalitarian system. "Alienation from his own powers," Fromm goes on, "makes man not only slavishly dependent on God, but malicious as well. He loses faith in himself, if deprived of the experience of his own love, of his own reason."

If love of God is, in authoritative psychiatrists' opinion, a form of collective neurosis, then love of what ideas can bring man social well-being? Let us see what ideas underlie the prosperity of Western Europe and America.

As one reads articles about the ways of the development of capitalism, about the wealth of the now rich countries originating from the capital initially accumulated through the plundering of the colonies and through the exploitation of Negroes on plantations, about the Mafia having made its fortunes on rackets, prostitution, gambling and prohibition and then contributing this money in legitimate business, one does not know what to marvel at — the effectiveness of Communist propaganda or our journalists' poor knowledge of history.

All this did take place in the history of capitalist states, but was by no means the main motive force of their progress. What actually stimulated progress was a special, capitalist attitude to work formed by the religious ethics of Protestantism. According to the German sociologist Max Weber, this ethics is based on regarding work as a vocation. A conscientious fulfilment of their professional duties was regarded by Lutherans as their supreme mission in life. It is not for nothing that the very word "industrial" derives from the Latin word "industria," meaning diligence.

The fulfilment of one's professional duties was the road to salvation. Profit made by honest means was looked upon as an indication of good service to God, and millions of protestants regarded enterprise and money-making as occupations pleasing to God. Notably, Protestants never squandered their wealth on "high living," and strongly disapproved of such wastefulness. They reinvested their profits, and money brought them more money as a result.

What will save thy neighbour: alms or business?

A great contribution was made to the Reformation and Protestant movements by Luther and Calvin who brilliantly adapted their parishioners' mentality to the coming era of capitalism. In Eastern Christianity, which the Russian Orthodox Church belongs to, salvation could be brought only through fervent prayer, fasting, penance and the observance of Commandments, whereas for Protestants, salvation lay in professional activity, the success of which was indicated by the size of the capital accumulated. In Eastern Christianity withdrawal from the world was encouraged in every way and the blessings of contemplation was inculcated in believers (which is characteristic of Islam as well), but Protestantism emphasized active life. Russian Orthodoxy regarded striving for material gain as a fall from grace ("It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God") and encouraged and glorified begging, while Protestantism censured poverty, and the word "begar" was synonymous with "ill." In his verdicts Calvin denounced alms-giving. Those new Protestant commandments later spread to other confessions, but not to Russian Orthodoxy.

Russian Orthodox ascesis often involved retirement to monasteries, going into retreat, where a monk could spend long periods alone with God, praying. Protestant ascesis regarded active life for the good of society as pleasing to God, and if one succeeded in his efforts to make good, it meant that God had marked him for salvation. Money was an indicator of success, but even those who made a fortune continued to work hard because, to quote Apostle Paul, "The man who will not work shall not eat." Wasting time on worldly amusements, on a night of more than six hours' sleep, on "idle talk" came under moral censure because all that weakened the determination to lead a righteous life. Unwillingness to work and begging were regarded as a fall from grace.

As distinct from Russian Orthodox ethics, that of Protestantism was concerned with this world. As Max Weber put it, "the spiritual aristocracy of otherworldly monks was ousted by the spiritual aristocracy of worldly saints."

We usually identify Puritanical morals — a product of the Reformation movement — as hypocrisy in the matters of sex. Actually, a Puritan was distinguished above all by his impeccable and infallible honesty. The phrase "Honest as a Huguenot" comes from the ethics of Protestantism. Ethical refinement and spirituality and the ideals of a gentlemanly attitude to women also took shape thanks to the ethics of Puritanism.

Pride that apes humility

Whether or not we like the "spirit of capitalism" we know so little about, we shall have to change our "socialist attitude" to work if we are to live as well and as prosperously as our Western neighbours. Some of the first American billionaires did not leave the fortunes they had made to their children so as not to deprive them of the moral blessing of "working and gaining on their own." Is anything of the kind conceivable in our reality, our people's mentality being what it is?

Max Weber sees a distinguishing feature of the Americans' national character in their considering commercial success and high profit symptoms of spiritual greatness. In Europe, belonging to the nobility is seen as such a symptom. A noble reduced to stark poverty always commanded greater respect there than a wealthy upstart did.

America is proud of its wealth, and Europe, of its culture. As to us, it looks as if we are proud of our misfortunes — it is something like "pride which apes humility." Private entrepreneurs are much hated in our country, and people who claim to be of noble stock are much in vogue; this makes it easy to predict what we are in for.

Many of us wonder why businessmen who have already made a lot of money are still at it, making more and more money. We are still more surprised to hear big businessmen say that money making is not an aim in itself for them. Why, then, that crazy rat race which takes so much time, effort and nervous energy? The answer to this question is that a real Businessman, the Businessman with a capital B, is akin to a writer who spends hours turning his phrases; to an artist who paints ever newer pictures; to a doctor who continually thinks over ever

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

more efficient ways of diagnosing and treating diseases. A businessman by vocation thinks as little of money while working out his financial and economic strategy as a real painter does while creating his next masterpiece. It is time we realized that the art of doing business is on a par with the great arts of painting, music-making and healing. What's more, business is now more important, perhaps, than any other art form.

So far, most of our new-fledged businessmen appear to be not big artists in their line, but smart go-getters eager to grab as much money as quickly as they can – and then to lie low. This pitiful narrow-mindedness is just a manifestation of the overall moral degradation we now suffer from.

From a poor man's mentality and dreams of the radiant communist future, we are to go all the way to the mentality of ambitious and active businessmen bent on amassing wealth. At the pre-capitalist stage, man produced exactly as much as he needed for satisfying his modest requirements. Such an approach to work could never produce real capital embodying public wealth. Capitalism produces an excess of what is strictly necessary; this can be achieved only given a special, *religious* attitude to work. Modern communist ideology has failed to inculcate in people such an attitude to work, which is not surprising considering their total alienation from the means of production and from the results of their work.

The eternal Russian "off chance"

Today many of us are preoccupied with thoughts of extraterrestrial civilizations, astral twins and other such transcedental things. One cannot help wondering why our press totally ignores such themes as high professionalism as a means of one's self-expression and fulfilling one's life mission. Now that mass unemployment is coming, it is only top-notch professionals who may feel truly secure. Enormous numbers of people will have to re-train, to learn new professions. Instead of beginning to learn right now, we shout ourselves hoarse at street meetings and demonstrations; instead of studying special literature we read about the adventures of Sherlock Holmes and Captain Maigret. We haven't grown up yet, and we still rely on God and on the eternal Russian "off chance."

No matter how much hope we set on love for and faith in God, the civilized world is, after all, moving towards atheism under the influence of modern humanist ethics linked with the teachings of not only Freud and Fromm, but also with those of Albert Schweizer, Victor Frankl, Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow. While recognizing the services of religion and its contribution to the progress of the moral principles human life is based upon, this ethics goes further, giving priority to Freedom, Reason and Love as keys to life's problems. The ideals of this ethics lead people away from the illusions of idol-worship in their most varied forms and to the realization that the meaning of life lies in fraternal love for humanity. The seeds of this ethics were found in Protestantism, and the current prosperity of certain Western countries comes from a correct selection of the ethical principles to go by. Spinoza was perfectly right in maintaining that society depends for its progress not on administative measures but on the way of its members' thinking, which should be based on a striving for freedom rather than on civil obedience. Power over the world of things begins not from the economy, but from problems of morality, not from the individual being absorbed by the state, but from the gearing of state structures to the development of the individual.

Humanist ethics demands that people should be interested and actively involved in the life around them. This ethics, as the great 20th century humanist Albert Schweizer pointed out, compels us "to show interest in all people and their fates, and to give them a hand in their hour of need. It does not allow a scientist to live by his science alone, no matter how useful to society this may be. It does not allow an artist to live by his art alone, even if it does people good. It does not allow a businessman to think that he has done all he can in his line. It calls upon all to give a particle of their life to others."

Changing our mentality and bringing it in conformity with the ideals of this ethics should take precedence over economic reforms. If our mentality remains just a mirror of our economic reality, we will never emerge from the chaos surrounding us today.

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Next stop the Moon?

Promised land? SS-20 missiles have been destroyed in Kapustin Yar for three years

Photo by TASS

The German autonomy in the USSR may be restored on a vacant missile testing range

Konstantin Isakov

German politicians were waiting for President Yeltsin's visit harbouring the secret hope that the Russian leader would bring something they had expected Gorbachev to bring for too long: consent to restore the German autonomy in this country...

Every Soviet-German top level meeting since Konrad Adenauer first visited Moscow in 1955 has brought something nice to the Soviet Germans: several hundred of the most fortunate were allowed to emigrate after each summit. Shortly before a meeting of Soviet and German leaders, diplomats would supply their Soviet counterparts with a list of several hundred names "in the hope of a positive decision of the Soviet side as to the emigration of the said persons." Since the Soviet side was always after economic assistance, the partners managed to find a common language pretty soon. That was how several thousand Germans were bartered over the years. The first 608 Germans were allowed to emigrate from the USSR in 1955 for the first time since the war.

The practice of such mutually profitable barter flourished under Brezhnev as well. Soviet Germans played a role in what was then known as "the deal of the century," when Germany supplied the USSR with large-diameter pipes for a gas pipeline to Western Europe. Such lists were given to the Soviet side until 1986. Then the climate thawed somewhat and Soviet Germans started leaving the USSR by the thousands: 14,000 in 1987, 51,000 in 1988, about 100,000 in 1989 and 300,000 in the past two years.

However, although Germany had long insisted that Soviet Germans be allowed to travel freely, it was not exactly enthusiastic about the prospect of facing a massive influx of emigrants from the East.

But it could not shut its door to them, because the German constitution defines any German living abroad as a citizen of Germany who is free to return to his or her Vaterland at any time. Bonn politicians started looking for ways to limit the flow of immigrants, preferrably stemming that flow at its source, i.e. the USSR. The most promising way seemed to be the restoration of the German autonomy that used to exist on the banks of the Volga before 1941. By restoring the gravity centre of German culture and pumping economic assistance into it, Germany hoped that Soviet Germans would save it the trouble of unwilling hospitality and return to the place where there fathers had lived, rather than to their historical homeland. For decades, Soviet Germans insisted on the same thing.

On the banks of the Amur

In August last year Boris Yeltsin became the first prominent political leader to lend an attentive ear to the desperate calls for for restoration of the autonomy coming from the extraordinary conference of the Soviet Germans' Society Revival. The activists in the German movement were happy about this support, but they still did not manage to meet with the Russian leader in order to explain their problems to him. Various delegations from Bonn willingly met with Soviet Germans in the German Embassy in Moscow. After they pinned their last hopes for staying in this country on the leader of Russia, Soviet Germans started conveying their requests to him via German politicians.

Bonn sensed that it was possible to set the process in motion as well, provided there was some support from Russia. During each of his numerous visits to the USSR German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher tactfully but insistently tried to bring it home to the Russian leadership that it was necessary to restore the historical justice, respect human rights and keep hard-working Germans home for the benefit of Russia. Ironically, this time Germany was already promising credits and tied investments to the regions where at least minimal conditions would be created for the Germans. The German side offered to build bakeries and cheese-making shops, train young Soviet Germans and supply advance technologies. The only thing that had to be done to start these benefits flowing in was to guarantee the restoration of the German republic and to find the place for it.

The information which Boris Yeltsin kept receiving from his advisors, particularly from those at the State Committee for Ethnic Affairs and the KGB of Russia stressed the reports about the local population's resistance to the creation of the German autonomy. However, this information was not really comprehensive and reliable. Although some people really did protest, in general the opposition to the restoration of autonomy was supported only by a small but vociferous faction of anti-German activists who had built their careers upon nationalist slogans. Besides, this faction from the Volga Region seems to have had influential patrons in Moscow...

For some time, Yeltsin tried to keep silent about the Volga autonomy, so as not to inflame the passions. In September of this year he declared that the best way to solve the German problem would be to create tolerable conditions for them in the places to which they had been exiled under Stalin. Later, during a meeting with Genscher, Yeltsin suggested that Soviet Germans be given autonomy in such far-off locations as the Amur River area, the stretch of the Baikal-Amur Railway or the northern part of the Sverdlovsk Region. Such strange offers could only be explained by not very wise suggestions he had received from advisors.

Living on dead lakes

Despite the efforts of the numerous commissions set up at various levels to look into the issue of Soviet Germans, not one of them has been able to carry out its mission to the end. In the summer of this year, the German problem became the responsibility of the State Committee of the RSFSR for Ethnic Affairs under the tireless control of the Committee Chairman Prokopyev, who had repeatedly stressed that the restoration of the German Autonomous Republic was a main concern of his life.

In October of this year, when Soviet Germans convened for their first Congress, Prokopyev addressed the participants with the proposal of a three-year programme for the restoration of the German autonomy. The delegates rejected the proposal as unacceptable, because no one was enthusiastic about waiting for three more years. Meanwhile, according to Prokopyev, the proposed concept was approved by the Supreme Soviet of Russia and Boris Yeltsin himself. The State Committee for Ethnic Affairs promised that Boris Yeltsin would take the rejected concept to Bonn to negotiate it with the German leaders. It was too little to have a concept, though, the place of the future German republic had yet to be found.

Two proposals were made shortly before Yeltsin set off for Bonn: to set up the German autonomy either in the Pallasovsky District, the southernmost and least populated area of the former German republic, or in the territory of the Kapustin Yar missile testing range next to the salt lakes of Elton and Baskunchak. The area of the territory earmarked to become the German autonomy was ten times as small as the pre-war German republic.

According to unofficial sources, the proposal was put forward by one of the leaders of the Volgograd Region who had never been known as an advocate of a German autonomy, but who had nonetheless managed to work his way into the team of experts of the State Committee for Ethnic Affairs which drafted the concept of the restoration of the republic...

Shortly before Boris Yeltsin's visit to Bonn, I called Leonid Prokopyev and asked whether it was true that the Kapustin Yar proposal had been made by the State Committee. The Committee Chairman resolutely waved my question off, saying: "The press is doing a lot of harm to the national movements." First Deputy Chairman of the Committee Vladimir Seryakov said it was the first time that he ever heard about the proposal and assured me that the State Committee "had nothing to do with the idea."

Meanwhile, on November 21, when his visit to Bonn was about to start, Boris Yeltsin addressed Defence Minister Shaposhnikov suggesting that the latter consider the question of turning the missile testing range over to the Germans. It is not known how the Marshal answered the President, however, I managed to get to know the opinion of one Defence Ministry expert.

An officer from the Defence Minsitry, who made it clear that he did not want his name to be disclosed in the press, informed *New Times* that the defence establishment operated two testing ranges on the left bank of the Volga which had been created even before the war: Kapustin Yar (area – about 8,000 square kilometres, located in the territory of the Volgograd and Astrakhan Regions and Kazakhstan), and Ashuluk (area – 1,800 square kilometres). "Both testing ranges are located on non-arable lands and are intended for the testing of advanced weapons systems, R&D, and combat training of all branches and services of the Armed Forces."

The testing range was used for the testing of ballistic missiles, and for the past three years SS-20 missiles have been demolished there. According to the Defence Ministry source, the military department has invested heavily in the ranges' communications networks and infrastructure, and that is why the military are not going to turn the place over to the Germans without adequate compensation or allocation of another territory for their testing use. "If one approaches the German problem from the viewpoint of the low density of population in a given territory, the best solution

would be to send them to Moon," the officer said.

German politicians were shocked by the Yeltsin proposal, although one senior official at the German Ministry of Internal Affairs, who also preferred to remain anonymous, tried to justify the words of the Russian President, arguing that the offer of Kapustin Yar was only "attendant." Bonn was happy that Yeltsin remained true to his word: the German republic would finally be restored. The German elation was even reflected in the text of the joint declaration: "It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that Germany accepts the information about Russia's intention to restore the German republic in the region of the traditional residence of their ancestors on the Volga, without any infringement on the rights of the local population whatsoever."

This sentence was easily the only achievement of the Yeltsin visit as far as the German problem was concerned. No joint protocol on this problem was signed and the scale and amount of assistance were not defined. However, the Russian President's word was a consolation for Bonn which, mindful of the complicated political and economic situation in the USSR, preferred to stop reminding the Russian leadership about the problem and confined its efforts to sending missions of experts to Moscow. The secrecy that shrouds the German experts' talks with the State Committee for Ethnic Affairs makes one feel a doubt about the fact that the result of their collective efforts will be a surprise for the Soviet Germans themselves, especially as the leaders of the two largest German public organizations – the Society Revival and the International Association in Support of the German Culture – are not allowed to attend the meetings with the Russian leadership or to participate in the drafting of documents. The Germans themselves have declared that they will not start sowing next spring and in the middle of December they will meet to discuss ways to expedite collective emigration.

Leonid Prokopyev explained that "public organizations and their congresses only had the right of consultative participation," in contrast to the State Committee he heads. Having uttered this, Prokopyev left for Chuvashia to run for the local presidency. In his absence Yeltsin transformed the State Committee for Ethnic Affairs into the Committee for Ethnic Policies. Who will be oppointed the new chairman and what will be the next stop for Soviet Germans?

■

Even the KGB was helpless

The CPSU Central Committee could have resolved the problem, but did not know how. The KGB knew how, but did not have authority to do it

In October 1984, after spending six years as instructor at the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee, I was appointed editor-in-chief of the Soviet Germans' only central paper, *Neues Leben*. Such appointments were the responsibility of the Central Committee Secretariat. That sitting of the Secretariat was chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev. The Secretariat gave me a briefing: I was to look into the complicated problem of Soviet Germans, to write the truth and nothing but the truth and to provide the Party leadership with necessary recommendations.

No one among the Kremlin bosses had enough information on the matter or any personal experience of communication with Soviet Germans. There was only one man, whom I met several days after my appointment, who knew everything about the problem. It was Deputy Chairman of the KGB Filipp Bobkov. I remember him saying that the KGB had suggested to the CPSU Central Committee that the German autonomy be restored. He added: "For some reason, the Central Committee is doing nothing to solve the problem. Even we are powerless to make them to. The country is losing excellent workers, and it is very difficult to stop people from emigrating to unite with their families in Germany."

It is not up to me to judge how energetic the KGB was when it posed the question before the Central Committee. Later I learned that when we talked to the KGB second-in-command, local KGB officers continued persecuting German activists who insisted that the rights of their people be restored and respected. Authors of a documentary book on the fate of Soviet Germans were convicted in the Novosibirsk Region. The KGB continued the shadowing of members of German delegations which came to Moscow from the Omsk and Orenburg regions and the Altai...

By the time I was appointed to *Neues Leben*, my German colleagues were not agreed on how to work for the restoration of the rights of their people. The situation was complicated by the struggle for leadership and for higher positions on the editorial board. Nothing out of the ordinary in any other magazine, this struggle divided many people in *Neues Leben:* some advocated a German autonomy in the Kaliningrad Region (former Eastern Prussia), some in the Volga region... some were too radical, some were more cautious.

When I became editor-in-chief I deemed it my duty to regularly inform the Central Committee about the situation with Soveit Germans. In our regular reports to the Central Committee we stated that an overwhelming majority of our readers advocated the restoration of the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans and German autonomous districts. The editors of *Neues Leben* also addressed the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government suggesting that Germans who had worked in Stalin's "labour armies" be granted equal privileges and benefits with the veterans of the war and veterans of labour. We asked the Supreme Soviet to award all those who had served in "the labour armies" with the Medal For Valiant Labour in the Great Patriotic War.

Local authorities, especially the ones in Kazakhstan and the Altai, were doing something for the Germans. Several new folk companies were established. German students who studied at the M.S. Shchepkin Theatre Institute were allowed to complete their studies before they were called up to the army. As for the main problem – the restoration of the German autonomy on which the Germans pinned their hopes for the revival of their culture and political rehabilitation, the CPSU Central Committee was actually cheating them.

In 1986 a conference devoted to the problem of Soviet Germans was held in the CPSU Central Committee. Central Committee Secretary Zimyanin told the conference: when the Vehrmacht was closing in on the Volga, there was a real danger that the Volga Germans might turn into a fifth column, and there was no other option but deportation.

The sub-department for ethnic relations which was set up at the Central Committee later did not provide much help either, despite repeated appeals of delegations of Soviet Germans. A delegation would come to Moscow and receive the following assurance: "The German problem, particularly restoration of the autonomy on the Volga, is being studied. Soon it is going to be solved positively. Wait a little longer."

After the Central Committee the hopeful delegation would come to *Neues Leben* asking us to publish an account of the Central Committee meeting. I would take note of the information and call the Central Committee to check it, and I would get the following response: "Tired of being editor-in-chief and Party member, are you? Stop agitating people, otherwise it will be worse for you..."

The Central Committee was advocating the following viewpoint: Russians and people of other nationalities living in the territory of the former Volga Germans Republic were against the Germans' return and ready to resort to extreme measures if the question of the restoration of the autonomy were as much as included in the agenda.

It was a very far-fetched argument. As we visited the Saratov and Volgograd Regions, we talked to many residents of former German districts (cantons). When they found out the truth about the Germans, older and middleaged people usually took the side of the Germans, especially as the Germans who wished to return to the banks of the Volga and start reconstructing their republic demanded neither compensation for their property confiscated in 1941 nor the official status for the German language.

I recall the first meeting with the First Secretary of the Volgograd Regional Party Committee, Kalashnikov and Secretary of the Saratov Region Party Committee, Baranov. Their position was as follows: "If there is an instruction from the Central Committee we will start working for the restoration of the autonomy. If there is no instruction, we will not be in a hurry to do anything." Moscow kept silent. This silence was interpreted as a refusal to restore justice. The Central Committee approach found a lot of sympathizers in the Party Committees of Volgograd and Saratov: they used it in the struggle to preserve their power in the regions.

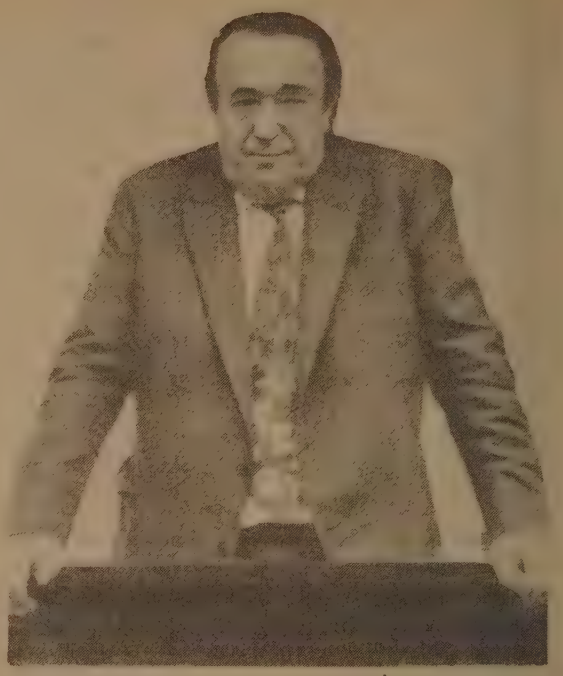
When a small number of Germans returned to their former republic, they saw that ill-considered and incompetent land-improvement had seriously damaged the rich Volga soils, and they threatened the Party bosses in Saratov and Volgograd to start an investigation to find the people responsible for the waste of billion rubles and the destruction of once fertile lands.

In response the Party Committees in the Saratov and Volgograd Regions launched a crusade against the Germans. A lobby of former Saratov and Volgograd Party cadres was formed in Moscow to prevent the problem from ever being solved.

Vladimir Chernyshev,
Director of the Soviet Science and Culture House in Berlin

The Volga Region in the 1990s: nothing seems to have changed since before the war...
Photo by K. Isakov

Return to the Mt. of Olives



That old maxim, *De mortius aut bene, aut nihil,* does not always apply to prominent public figures who have passed away.

The mysterious death of Robert Maxwell, a leading British book publisher, has triggered not only the collapse of his empire, but thorough inquiries into his past as well. Was Maxwell a Mossad or KGB agent? Why was he so much in love with Moscow, what did Moscow requite his love with? The files secret services kept on Robert Maxwell covered only a fraction of his eventful life.

Imitation marble

"Captain Bob" was well known in the Alpine Republic, and his every arrival there became a highlight in Austria's public life.

The presentation of his new weekly paper, *European,* in Vienna during his last visit there a year ago created quite a stir.The ceremony proceeded with great fanfare. The very choice of the venue for it speaks volumes. The presentation was held in Hofburg Palace, a long-time residence of the Hapsburg imperial family. Vienna's high society columnists joked in this connection that the media king had royal pretensions.

The presentation was a great success. The guests of honour included Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and the ex-motor racer Niki Lauda (now a prosperous businessman), to name but a few.

Before the presentation, Maxwell had not ignored Vienna, either. It was there that he submitted to the reading public in the early eighties Erich Honecker's *From My life,* brought out by his Pergamon Press Publishers. As he presented that bulky volume, containing many exciting photographic documents, including numerous photographs of the German Communist leader kissing his counterparts from all corners of the globe, Maxwell had many good words to say about the political leaders of the East now relegated to the background of the historical scene. I remember him lavishing praise on Leonid Brezhnev then. Concerning himself, Maxwell made the following comment: "If an idea turns me on, I cannot say No; had I been a woman, I'd have been pregnant all the time." And another thing. He said he had gone through the college of hard knocks, majoring in self-assertion.

The tentacles of the Maxwell empire never reached the Austrian book market, although they did try to secure a foothold there. Recently Austria's ruling Social Democratic Party tried to save, with Maxwell's help, the *Neue Arbeiterzeitung,* one of the oldest and most authoritative papers. Nothing came of the attempt, however – it was either that the sides had failed to strike a bargain, or that "Captain Bob" thought it beneath himself to do business on the scale of a small country like Austria... In the meantime the old *AZ* breathed its last.

Hans Dichand, the big-time Austrian publisher, a co-owner of the *Neue Kronen-Zeitung* mass circulation paper, often recalls his rendezvous with Maxwell. One day he had gone to London for a business discussion. A helicopter was waiting for him right on the airfield. Within minutes, the Austrian found himself on the roof of the famous *Sunday Mirror* building, where Maxwell preferred to entertain his guests. No sooner had Dichand alighted from the helicopter than a high-ranking employee of Maxwell Communication approached him and said: "The boss will be a few minutes late. He is clinching a bank takeover deal."

While waiting for their host, the guests decided to stretch their legs and to take a look around. All of them admired the sumptuous interior of the office. Dichand, a great connoisseur of architecture, was particularly impressed by the walls lined with marble of a beautiful pattern. On closer inspection the Austrian discovered, to his horror, that the walls were actually lined with skillfully painted metal sheets. Every time Dichand tells this story, he adds: "Somehow I came to identify Maxwell with that imitation marble."

Today he no longer says so: De mortius aut bene, aut nihil...

Anatoly Kovrigin,
our own correspondent

VIENNA

Looking for the roots

The memories of men like Robert Maxwell are of an egoistic nature. As we recall the great, we subconsciously recall our past selves... Myself, I am now egoistically recalling not so much Robert Maxwell in his sunset-gilded seventeenth-floor Jerusalem Hilton room, as the reflection of my own thoughts and feelings evoked by a three-hour talk with him.

That happened as recently as slightly over a year ago. There were three of us on the balcony – Robert Maxwell, Ezer Weizman, a retired Israeli army general and ex-Defence and Foreign Minister of Israel, and myself.

"By God, there is something wrong about you two," Weizman said, with his tongue in his cheek. "You've been discoursing for a whole hour now upon your love for Israel, as well as for Britain, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia and Latvia. Some of these are your birthplaces, others are your homes today, and you come to Israel from time to time to talk about your love for this small country... It's all very complicated, gentlemen. Myself, I've been, am living, and shall die in this country, as simple as that. This is my homeland."

He joked some more and then left, leaving us on the balcony face to face with the setting sun of Jerusalem. Suddenly we started talking about how difficult, almost impossible it was to love the places we had happened to be born in.

"I visited Czechoslovakia once," Maxwell said, "and went to Terezin, a model ghetto set up for the Jews during the country's occupation by Adolf Hitler. In place of that ghetto there was just a monument and a memorial plaque which made no mention of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Jewish women, children and old people had been taken to Auschwitz (Oswiecim) from there every month. The plaque only said that some anonymous Czechoslovak citizens had lived and fought there. And I said to myself: why hadn't God arranged for me to be born in a more decent place where they wouldn't tell me lies about myself and about my roots."

I told Maxwell that my memories of my own birthplace were, perhaps, even more unpleasant. I was born in Riga a few months before the war. It was there that my family had been shot dead by young and merry Latvian Nazis. No plaque commemorated the fact, of course. Upon my arrival in Latvia – all but independent in 1991, planning its future and talking democracy – I found myself in an intellectual desert where people were engaged in a lively discussion of whether Russians were to be treated as second- or third-class citizens, or as outcasts.

A man whose poems I had read when I was 20 and he 22, whose plays I had enjoyed when I was 30 and he 32, told me the following with a friendly smile in 1991, when I was 50 and he 52: "You Jews have nothing to fear in our independent Republic; after all, there are so few of you left, that we can well regard you as part of us; on the other hand, we must do something about that Russian horde. Call it apartheid, if you like, but we must go as far as that. We've got to keep the Latvian nation pure."

Such racist ravings which would be considered criminal in any civilized country are now becoming all but official ideology in the republic where I was born and in which I, along with a handful of other non-Latvians, have the right to citizenship (thank you, gentlemen!). Well, I shall never use it. Not for the life of me, because I do not want to be a citizen of a tiny racist state.

"Take it easy," Maxwell said upon hearing out my monologue. "They will pass this stage there. They've just never had a chance to think of democracy, equality and all those excesses which life in civilized countries rests upon."

We started talking about how happy each of us was in our new homes, so to say – he in Britain and I in Canada.

A youth from Czechoslovakia who knew what war and genocide were to his cost, he came to Britain, served in its army, saw action, became a member of the British Parliament. No one had ever doubted his right to become a British citizen.

Shortly after my arrival in Canada I became a University professor, an international news analyst, a newspaper department chief, a company owner – and no one had ever asked me whether I considered myself worthy of Canadian citizenship, can you imagine that?

Our past, the graves of our families, scattered over our former birthplaces and trodden into obscurity and oblivion, kept reminding us of the country which sympathizes with us and accepts us with our dark and bloody past and with our apparently happy present which, however, is slightly marred by our awareness of being aliens, even though desirable ones. This country is Israel. It so happened, by God's will, that we do not live there, but God may grant us the right to die and be buried there.

Maxwell was not only granted this right, he deserved it. He lies buried on the Mt. of Olives. It is the Judaists' firm belief that those buried there will be the first to rise when the resurrection time comes. They will return to earth to pass the experience and wealth of their souls to those who come after them.

Ilya Gerol,
Canadian political journalist
TORONTO

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НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ

Taking pot luck

(a hunter's tale)

Tatyana Lyubetskaya

The rumours of the coming jump in prices and of famine following in its wake have caused panic among Muscovites. Huge crowds wait outside foodstores for hours – in spite of the cold, of course – just to go in and see if there is anything for sale. Unlike foodstores, incidentally, wine shops open only when liquor is in stock.

There are probably not enough policemen to go round all the foodstores in the city, with the result that those who wish to breakline and can often do so with impunity.

One day I stood in a line of shoppers waiting for the foodstore on Tverskaya Street to open after a lunch break. The line clung to the wall, resigned to a long wait, while the crowd that had gathered sheepishly right in front of the store entrance resembled a river outfall – it consisted of those determined to push their way in as soon as the door opened, line or no line. The "pushers" were mostly men who cared nothing for the chilled "sheep" in the line, who were mostly women. Seeing that the crowd at the door kept swelling, and realizing that if we did nothing about it we would never get in, I decided to do the impossible: to try and talk the pushers into behaving themselves so that all of us could enter the shop in an orderly fashion, "according to priorities," so to say. I tried to mobilize support for this mission, but the women I approached weren't enthusiastic about it at all. "Are you kidding? They'll crush you." Just one of them, Olya by name, as I learned later, agreed to go with me: she had children to feed, her husband "just couldn't do without meat even for a day," so she had no option in the matter. We walked over to the crowd of men, and I called on them, at the top of my voice, to get back from that door and to form an orderly line. Nothing happened. The men didn't even swear at me, they simply eyed me with an amused expression like that of Stenka Razin, a Russian folklore personage who threw his girl-friend overboard for her misbehaviour... The crowd surged in the moment the door opened, and more intruders – twenty or so of them – squeezed in. The monstrous wave swept Olya and me into the store amidst the shrill screams of those crushed in the stampede.

Afraid to get too close to the counters in front of which pandemonium had broken loose, shop assistants threw in cuts of meat from a distance. Although originally wrapped up in cellophane, the cuts came unwrapped in the scuffle, and the sight of those flying pieces of flesh, dripping blood, logically completed the picture of the battle scene.

All of a sudden a few shoppers took the counter by storm and got behind it. The crowd followed them, and the counter gave way with a crash...

What really frightened me was not the stampede as such which could kill or maim me – most of the shoppers were armed with wire-mesh supermarket baskets – but rather how the usually empty space behind the counter became filled with people clutching wildly at raw flesh. I understood then what the expression "my hair stood on end" meant. There was something primeval about that feeling – my jungle-dwelling forebears had probably felt that way when in mortal danger.

It was all over five minutes after the shop had opened. The shelves were emptied clean, and the people, still groggy after the fight, looked around them dazed and fixed their messed up clothes. Olya and I exchanged rueful glances – we had gotten stuck on the far approaches to the "feeding trough" and were left empty-handed. Olya was shaking out her fox-fur hat she had just retrieved from the floor, and I was stroking my bruised hip and saying to myself that one ought to put on an ice-hockey or fencing outfit before going shopping.

"Any more meat coming today?" the unfortunates like us asked the blank-faced shop assistants. The answer was no. I turned to go, but Olya stopped me with a curt: "They're lying." "What do you mean, they're lying? Why should they?" I asked, bewildered. "Because if they say more meat is coming, people will go on a rampage," a bystander explained. "And now most of them will leave, and tension will ease off." "Do you know when the next supply is due?" "Well, in an hour. Maybe in three hours from now..." I didn't feel like taking chances and went to the department chief's office on the assumption that she, in her official capacity, would hardly stoop to lying. "No more meat coming today," she assured me firmly. I conveyed the message to the shopping public and was about to leave, but Olya stopped me again. "She's lied to you," Olya said.

The shop was nearly deserted by then, with only a few worldly-wise women, Olya and myself standing in front of the meat counter. "Stay awhile, and you'll see," Olya insisted, and I gave in, without much hope of success, though. Gradually a crowd built up around us again. "Are they going to sell meat today?" they asked us. And although we told them honestly that no one had promised anything to us, people didn't leave (their logic was simple: we were waiting for something; consequently, the something we were waiting for was on its way). Presently a long line formed behind us. I recalled an old joke: "Have you ever seen a creature with glaring eyes, a long tail and no wool?" "Yes, I have. It's a wool line." The joke went back to the time when wool was in short supply. Now that everything is in deficit you can substitute "wool" by "meat," "milk," "leather," you name it. What's going on?

The new line was gloomy, but rather well-behaved. But I knew that calm would last only until the first cut of meat arrived...

Time dragged on uneventfully, and finally I lost all hope. "It's useless," I told Olya. "I think I'll say goodbye now, got too many things to do, you know..." "Wait," she insisted, "I'm sure we'll make it." I gave in again. Time was running out like water from a sieve, quickly and imperceptibly, I was steadily sinking into a dazed state, as if under an anaesthetic; everything – day-to-day concerns, my family, work, friends – receded to a hazy background, I had nowhere to go any more, all there was to do was wait, wait without end...

Suddenly an old man came up, turned his walking stick upside down, hooked

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

my right leg with it and pulled. "Hey, what's the big idea?" I cried out. "I'm looking for a piece of meat I've dropped here, lady." "This is my leg, don't you see?"

The line had another big laugh when an old woman, sporting a cute fur hat, approached us and asked, matter-of-factly: "Any veal today?" Actually, "laughter" is not the word to describe the crowd's reaction to that question. People roared and I heard someone ask, between hysterical guffaws: "Has she been doing any shopping at all in the past 73 years?" After all, even bones, let alone meat, had long become a rarity, and it would certainly not occur to anyone in his right mind to ask for veal, of all things...

To while away the time, we talked nonstop, our discussion covering a wide range of subjects: new recipes (each demonstrating the truth of the saying "Necessity is the mother of invention"), prices, politics and, of course, sex, which our people are now better versed in than ever: unlike food, information about sex in every conceivable form is now readily available at every turn.

The subject of sex exhausted, the conversation went back to prices (a sore point), proceeded to the "Gorbi tax" and finally centered on politics.

Out of sheer boredom, I asked the shop assistants time and again, whether meat was coming. "No more meat today," was their invariable reply... "Why don't you tell us the truth? Have mercy on us, we've been here for four hours already!" I said, – and it was only at that moment that I realized, to my horror, that we had, indeed, spent four hours of our life standing in that line. Suddenly one of the dead-pan shop assistants warmed up a bit (or was it an optical illusion?) and motioned to me to step aside for a word in private. I ignored the signal at first (why in private? I had nothing to hide from my companions in distress!), but the women standing next to me urged me to go and negotiate. Feeling like Maupassant's "Dumpling" induced by my compatriots to perform a heroic feat for their sake, I went where the salesgirl dragged me to – a corner, well away from the crowd. "They will bring in meat soon," the girl whispered into my ear passionately, "but please don't breathe a word about it to them, they will pull the shop down, they'll crush all of us to death..." I thanked her heartily and hastened to rejoin the four or five women I had got thick with during the long wait. I conveyed the happy news to them – could I possibly keep it to myself? Their faces immediately took on the dead-pan expression, exactly like the salesgirls'; they realized the importance of the secret they had been initiated into. Nevertheless, word did get around somehow, and the whole line came to life and became animated like an audience waiting for a show to begin. I already knew what kind of a show that was going to be. So far the line had kept itself in check, although its coils had already begun to tighten around the counter. But I knew that the moment the salesgirls started throwing meat cuts, the line would instantly turn into a pack of ferocious wolves.

Olya and I stood in the most dangerous place, right by the counter, at the front, and I tried to organize a "covering force." I asked three young men who stood nearby to protect us from the surging crowd using the wire-mesh baskets as shields, and promised to get them some meat in reward for their efforts. They readily complied, and the moment they took up an all-round defence position, a trolleyful of meat appeared from the storeroom. The salesgirls started throwing meat to the counter right from the storeroom door, and the crowd went on a rampage, mouths yelling, eyes bulging, fists flailing... Our defences were crushed and swept away in an instant, and I got pressed against the counter so hard that I couldn't even stir or breathe, let alone bend over and pick up my meat. Olya moaned next to me – her head was caught between the counter and someone's belly, but her hands, clutching at a basket, were free. In that strange but extremely advantageous posture she did not merely pick up, but selected the meat cuts which had taken her fancy – for herself, for me and for our "defenders" who had got God knew where. I was useless to her because my hands were pressed against the counter, and my teeth were no good for meat snatching.

Five minutes later it was all over, and we heaved a huge sigh of relief. We never found the boys who had undertaken to protect us, and offered their meat to those who had emerged from the scuffle empty-handed (we wouldn't have been allowed to exceed our meat quota anyway). The extra meat was promptly snatched away from us (a sorry sight!), and no thanks were offered. Small wonder, too – it was a race in which the prize went to the quickest...

Finally, I took my "bag" home and, still flushed from the battle, told my folks about what I had gone through. Horrified, they warned me against further "meat-hunting." "We might as well content ourselves with cereals," they reasoned. That sounded sensible enough to me, but the trouble was that Moscow foodstores long ago ran out of cereals...

The Memory Society As It Is, written by Radio Liberty Moscow correspondent **Mark Deutsch** jointly with young author Leonid Zhuravlev, will be brought out soon by the publishing house What and Where in Moscow. Mark Deutsch was the first of the foreign correspondents to report on an incident in the Central Writers' Club, where members of the ultra-patriotic Memory Society organized an anti-Semlitic pogrom. Later, he attended the trial of Ostashvili, one of the Memory leaders. The book is based on reports from the court room.

Mark Deutsch knows well what he writes about. He was present at several meetings held by the Memory Society. After the trial of Ostashvili it became more difficult to attend Memory rallies because he could be recognized. Is Mark Deutsch afraid of revenge on the part of bellicose members of the society after his book is in print?

"They threatened revenge in the past too," Deutsch says. "But the society members and others of their kind are cowards. They act only as a group."

The newspaper *Den'* (Day), edited by another "patriot," Prokhanov, is another object of observation for Mark Deutsch. Some time before the August coup attempt Vladimir Bondarenko, deputy editor of *Den'*, hastened to hand the latest issue of the newspaper to Deutsch in the hope that he would comment on it over Radio Liberty. The "patriots" believe that negative publicity too may help their "righteous cause."

At one time Mark Deutsch was barred from the Soviet mass media. For five years he contributed to *Our Country and the World*, the Munich magazine edited by Kronid Lubarsky. At present Soviet newspapers and magazines readily carry articles written by him. One more book by Deutsch is to appear in Moscow by the end of the year. It is a collection of articles, comments and essays entitled *At Radio Liberty*.

* * *

"I will give up my life for it," the noted actor **Ivan Gavrilyuk** says when the question of creating a truly national Ukrainian cinema comes up.

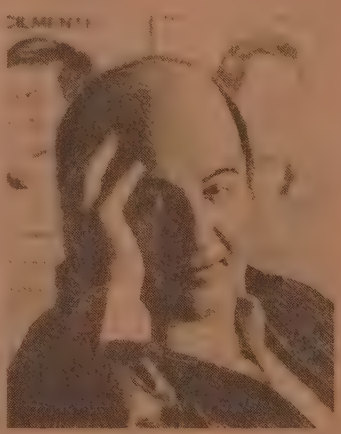
In pursuance of his aim Gavrilyuk played the part of Ivan Sirko, the hetman (headman) of the Dnieper Cossacks in the past. Sirko dreamed of "building statehood in the Ukraine," the actor contends, and his name was "consciously buried in oblivion."

"I have had one thought, one desire in my head and heart – to tell other people about my Ukraine," Ivan Gavrilyuk says. "In the Kiev institute of theatrical art I was dubbed 'a Bandera man' because I spoke Ukrainian."

Carpathian Gold, a film directed by Victor Zhivolub, is devoted to the followers of Bandera, a national leader who fought for the independence of the Ukraine. In this film Gavrilyuk plalyed the leading role, that of a man who agrees to collaborate with the Nazis "for the sake of saving the lives of his kin." This allowed the Bandera men to keep for the Ukraine the gold which the Nazis were going to take to Germany. Only recently such people were called traitors. But today Ivan Gavrilyuk calls them patriots because they "wished the Ukraine good and freedom, dignity and honour," even at the price of collaboration with the Nazis.

Ivan Gavrilyuk has played more than 60 parts. Today he is a member of the board of the independent film studio Ukraina affiliated with the UN charity foundation. Gavrilyuk was born in Western Ukraine. Every part played by him is "the painful memory of the people, the painful memory of every Ukrainian family."

An adviser of poor nations



Hernando De Soto, 50, a close aid and friend of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, has been trying for several years to find an answer to the question: why are some nations poor and others rich? De Soto heads the Institute of Freedom and Democracy, which deals with problems of state system and economic progress for developing nations. Among his clients are not only Peruvian legislators. His advice is sought by the governments of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia, Sri Lanka and other countries.

Ronald Reagan once called Hernando "a hero of the Third World." Though De Soto does not conceal his liking for the United States, he does not always find a common language with top officials of the US administration, especially as concerns the question of financial aid to the poorest state of Latin America.

In the Peruvian government De Soto is also responsible for the drive against narcotics. This is an important post since Peru accounts for 60 per cent of raw materials for cocaine manufacture. De Soto has received several warnings from the narcomafia who have promised to do away with him.

De Soto was born in the south of Peru. He grew up and studied in Geneva as his father worked there as a diplomat. At 30 he owned a company. But soon Hernando grew tired of business and he returned to his native country.

Hernando is often asked why he, a man with a good education, a keen wit, immense experience and the chance to make a lot of money in the United States or Europe, prefers to live in Peru nevertheless. He says in reply, "How can I leave the country which is an ideal laboratory for proving my theories because there is no other state existing in accordance with the principle: 'You cannot live that way.'" I think the experienced scholar is mistaken about the exceptional character of Peru.

O. Vishnyakov

The 26-year-old avant-guarde artist, **Andrei Melnikov,** a grandson of the writer Arkady Gaidar and a cousin of a deputy premier of the Russian government, recalls with a smile the time in his youth when he wanted to follow in his great-grandfather's footsteps

and become a shoemaker. He even entered the modelling department at the Moscow Technological Institute.

Melnikov spent two years producing a collection of clothes which he called Lemon Sheikh. It inspired a lot of gossip and was shown in many cities. No wonder Lemon Sheikh proved very appropriate when *a la Russe* fashions were required for the scandalous French film *Erotic in the USSR*. In this way Andrei gained fame, though it was not backed up by material welfare.

Andrei and his wife Irina Zaikina, also an artist but a realist, fear that real artists will soon find it difficult to display their works because art will be relentlessly commercialized. In the opinion of Andrei and Irina, the "Art-myth" exhibition recently held in Moscow was the last non-commercial show. Therefore, they are going to open their own gallery to support those who are devoted to "high art." However, money is needed for this purpose, and the couple decided to open a commercial firm, Art Bridge, in order to raise "initial capital." A shop is already working at full blast, making leather bags and belts designed by Andrei. Articles of the firm are readily bought by the Moscow fashion centre De Luxe.

* * *

Yevgeny Bushkov, 23, one of the most talented violinists of his generation, headed the Concertino group last autumn. There has not been such a young artistic director in the history of the Soviet philharmonic.

Yevgeny was born in 1968 in a family of violinists who played on tour. His mother is now a professor at the Moscow Conservatoire and his father is a member of the group Virtuosos of Moscow. At the age of five the boy began to play the violin. At the age of seven he entered the central music school, and at 18, the Conservatoire. Then followed a competition marathon inevitable for any outstanding student. Yevgeny won the Grand Prix and five special prizes in Poznan, a prize at the prestigious Brussels competition, and a silver medal at the Tchaikovsky competition last year.

The first victory opened for Yevgeny the doors of concert halls. He has travelled widely since then, performing in almost all countries of Europe. Though very busy, he writes verses, drives his car and studies oriental martial arts.

Yevgeny accepted the invitation to head the Concertino not without trepidation. He was not too embarrassed by the fact that every member of the ensemble was at least ten years older than he. There were more serious grounds for worry. Would he be able to fit into the group which for 15 years was conducted by the famous violinist Andrei Korsakov, who died recently?

It seems that Yevgeny was able to fit in, and he then took on an incomparably more difficult task. He is going to free the ensemble and himself of organizing work by finding a first-class manager. So the task is now to find such a specialist, money and sponsors. Thanks not least to the good brains and iron nerves of Bushkov, the idea is likely to be realized. The young artistic director hopes that after that he will be able to devote himself fully to creative work only.

L. Dolgacheva

Genuine or not?

"I have kept silent for a long time, trying to avoid a scandal, but now the time has come to tell the truth. I declare that **Sabrina Salerno,** who attracts men with her figure, has fooled them. Her splendid bosom is the result of skillful plastic surgery."

This terrible charge has been made by Italian TV star **Angela Cavagna,** who also became popular thanks mainly to her bosom (see the photo on the left). The "exposure" of this kind will certainly confuse the numerous admirers of Sabrina, in the Soviet Union, too. Moreover, the question of whether her bosom is a gift of nature or a product of modern surgery will be examined by the court in which she brought a libel action.

Angela Cavagna told journalists that she first met Sabrina Salerno during a tour of Spain four years ago. Sabrina sang songs, assisted by record playing, Angela contends, because it is difficult to understand words when she sings by herself. Angela took part in ballet turns and often shared a dressing-room with Sabrina. It was then that she could see Sabrina's breasts closely. Moreover, Angela asserts, before appearing on the stage Sabrina always tried to make her shape even more attractive with the help of various pads.

Angela is in a bellicose mood. "I have studied classical dances in Monaco and continued my education in a London college," she said, "and I cannot allow such persons as Sabrina to deceive the public."

To avoid an examination and not to embarrass judges, Sabrina asked Giorgio Fischer, a famous specialist in plastic surgery, to give her a paper certifying the authenticity of not only her bust but also of her lips and nose. The surgeon gave Sabrina such a paper but did not give guarantees that the singer did not take hormones which produce the same effect as plastic surgery.

The two signorinas are now to meet in the Palazzo di Giustizia in Genoa, and journalists wonder who of the judges will be lucky enough to check the authenticity of Sabrina's breasts.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

Today we are introducing the reader to *Studies of Nationalism* by Dmitry Muretov, a well-known Russian political journalist of the early 20th century (for all the fame he enjoyed then, he sunk into oblivion, leaving not a trace of information about his background). Two essays by Muretov, merged into one, appeared in the *Russkaya Mysl* journal in 1916, followed by wide repercussions...

Muretov's discourses may appear strange or even repugnant to many readers. However, the essays that follow are interesting precisely for their paradoxical form and contradictory content. The very notion of nationalism as "a science of tender passion," as transformed eroticism, strikes one as surprising at first glance. Actually, it fits perfectly with the cultural realm outlined by José Ortega y Gasset and Vassily Rozanov in their love studies.

Muretov's notes suggest that there is a way to gain a deeper insight into this phenomenon (although Muretov did not try to do that himself). He lays bare for us the "deep-seated carnal" essence of national feeling, reveals the inner workings of "national appeal" which lie on that side of common sense.

The God of love is dangerous and perfidious, however. His arrows hit one right in the heart and may hurt. And if a person's "loving gaze" is focused on what is purely national, if the one in love wants to breathe the "national" air only and to live in the "national" element, then he will divide those around him into kindred spirits and strangers, into friends and aliens, into "us" and "them." Such concentration on the superpersonal leads to "national self-love." Or to "congeneric appropriation," a kind of "national incest," to the imperial – and strictly national – super-idea.

Unexpectedly – even to himself, perhaps – Muretov over-stepped this line as he began his discourse on "Ukrainism": as a result, his "national love" took on just such a dangerous "appropriative" quality.

At a time when rather little attention was paid to the problem of nationalism, such an "excess of intellectual commission" could be regarded as carelessness. All the more so as "all-Russian" national feeling had been awakened by the war. Pyotr Struve warned Muretov against mixing up the individual with the super-personal, emphasizing the need for continuous moral perfection which Struve called "self-care." ■

Eros, the people and politics

Dmitry Muretov

Our philosophically-minded political journalists concentrate on criticizing and refuting nationalism, while political journalists writing on topical questions are preoccupied with attacking and fighting nationalism from day to day. One cannot help marvelling at the tenacity of this malicious trend of thought against which the Russian intelligentsia is compelled to send more and more of its best fighters. We remember the crusade launched against nationalism by a true paladin – Vladimir Solovyov. We remember Pavel Milyukov explaining to us its origins and predicting its demise with academic imperturbability and confidence. Later, Dmitry Merezhkovsky revealed what lurked behind the Beastly Face, and last winter Prince Yevgeny Trubetskoi maintained that nationalism alone prevented us from taking St. Sofia and, along with her, the straits and vast tracts of arable lands.

If nationalism is immoral, if it has outlived itself, if it is the devil incarnate – why, then, does it still have a following, and how does it dare to exist at all?

"Qui prouve trop, ne prouve rien," of course (He who proves too much proves nothing. – **Ed.**). Chaotic changes of views and a steady lowering of moral enthusiasm, which one cannot fail to notice as one proceeds from Solovyov to Prince Trubetskoi, indicate a failure of the entire philosophical campaign against nationalism...

Why do these critical efforts always prove futile? The answer to this question is, in my opinion, that the critics of nationalism are barking up the wrong tree, they are fighting against a phantom, against a twin of nationalism. And they are fighting it in a sphere which it never enters.

A close look at our reality and our history has showed our moralists that the idea of justice is often distorted, and the rights of other peoples restricted in the name of a certain nation's supreme interests. Having accepted this phenomenon as an entity, they have created a teaching which provides a moral justification for it, and called it nationalism. This is the teaching on the inequality of nations, about a certain nation being in a privileged position with regard to others. "What nationalism boils down to is," Solovyov wrote, "that one should love his people and be indifferent to other nations, which can even be persecuted and oppressed." He counters this with a brilliantly witty moral commandment of his: "Love other nations as you love your own."

What he meant, in his own words, was not the identity of the psychological feeling of love, but the identity of moral relations. Herein lies the secret of the ineffectiveness of his criticism: *nationalism says nothing about a moral attitude,* and namely, about the kind of love no moral commandment makes any mention of. To use Konstantin Leontyev's terminology, nationalism speaks not of compassion love, but of admiration love. Instead of saying: "You should love your people"; nationalism says, simply, "I love my people."

Moral love, indifferent to the individual peculiarities of the beloved one, can be prescribed; aesthetic, intimate, personal love cannot. Why is it an absurd thing to say: "Love other men's wives as you love yours"? Because by love for one's

own wife one means personal love which singles the beloved woman out and opposes her to all others, which sets one's relationship with her apart from the social relationships laid down by law. It would be mere mockery to say to a woman "I love you" if by "love" one means a moral attitude to her. In the same way, it would be a mockery of nationalism if the love for one's own nation it preaches were interpreted as a moral attitude to a group of citizens.

I cannot love other men's wives like I do mine, and I cannot love other nations as I do mine, because the sort of love I am talking about in these cases denies, by its very nature, the equality of relations. In its very essence, this kind of love amounts to inequality, injustice, bias. Nationalism means bias, it is a kind of relation which tolerates no equality. So how can the idea of equality be applied to it?

Nationalism does not claim justice, so every time it tries to prove, objectively and logically, the superiority of its nation over all others, it takes on a form which is organically alien to it. Such proofs are basically scholastic, i.e. not convincing: just rebut a Slavophile's arguments, and he will renounce them – but not his convictions, not faith in his people. Such was the case with the scholastic arguments in favour of the existence of God: their logic was convincing to those who believed in God, while in the opinion of those who had constructed those arguments, faith was supposed to depend on how convincing they were. A frank nationalism, aware of its essence, readily admits that it cannot explain, or substantiate in any way, its faith in, and love for, its people. In this respect, nationalism is very much akin to personal love. When Othello tries to explain his love for Desdemona ("She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd, and I lov'd her that she did pity them") he reveals only a fragment of the infinitely complicated truth; the question asked by Saltykov-Schedrin's modest lady character: "What have I, a stupid cow, done to deserve your love?" falls into the category of rhetorical questions to which no satisfactory answer has ever been, or will ever be given.

Nationalism puts on a black uniform every time it seeks to prove the superiority of one nation over others

Is the bias which constitutes the essence of nationalism immoral? It is neither moral, nor immoral, neither a virtue, nor a vice.

Is it divine or satanic? Does it bear the visage of Christ or Anti-Christ? Neither: it is profoundly human or, running a bit ahead of my story, it is *genius*.

Is it useful or harmful? Neither, again, it is *active* as a form of national mentality outside of which there can be nothing common to a whole nation – continuity of generations, art.

Is it eternal, or has it outlived itself? I think it answers the description of Eros as given by Socrates at Agathon's feast: "It is neither mortal, nor immortal, within one and the same day it now blossoms out and lives, now dies and revives" (*Symposium* of Plato). Hasn't Russian nationalism – seemingly dead and buried – been revived before our very eyes?

In general, what I have just said about nationalism is strikingly reminiscent of Plato's definitions of Eros: "He is neither kind, nor beautiful, but do not regard him as ugly and malicious," "He is neither God, nor man (the Greek men of wisdom had not yet discovered the Devil – as our modern philosophers would put it, they had no Apocalyptic eeriness about them) but something in between what is mortal and what is immortal: it is a great genius." "What is its use to people? It is the Eros of birth" – we would say, of creativity.

What is Eros, in accordance with Plato's teaching? It means the striving for individuality. Therein lies its distinction from virtue which is the attainment of *common* good, of the idea of good. It is a craving for beauty clothed in the form of passion for given concrete beauty. No individual is pure beauty incarnate and love for him or her can be only blind love. This is why Plato, in his *Phaedrus*, calls Eros a kind of frenzy. To love passionately means to love blindly, irrationally, contrary to one's own notions of what is right. If you know what you love, and why you love, then the person you love is not an individual, but the individual's virtues, intelligence and beauty.

The strength and danger of Eros lie in this blindness, in this irrationality. When the object of such a blind love which is above reason and above justice is not an individual but a nation, the result is a kind of *political frenzy* called nationalism. Whatever has been said about nationalism by its advocates and its critics becomes clear if we interpret nationalism in this way. Therefore it cannot but conflict sometimes with objective norms of legal justice; it cannot but arouse hatred sometimes towards other nations; it cannot but "despise all the customary rules of its life and decency which it used to be proud of before..."

Those for whom decorum and moderation are the last word in worldly wisdom will always remain hostile to and contemptuous of this elusive, mighty and unreasonable historical force.

Theoretical nationalism, i.e. the philosophical teaching of nationalism, can and should consist in justifying this partiality-love, i.e. in justifying Eros in politics as a creative force, as the state the people's soul falls into when, obsessed with great genius, it wants to procreate.

It is not my object here to justify that. However, ours is the time when Eros, seemingly dead and buried, is being revived in Russian hearts. Those who share in this frenzy of the soul already sense the itch and thrill it feels when, as Plato figuratively put it, its wings begin to grow. We just want to confess our nationalism openly and firmly. Faced with grave danger, we must have the courage to love our people, our way, our historical dream beyond any measure laid down by law and reason.

The definition of nationalism as national Eros gives rise to the danger of a complete obliteration of the objective historical viewpoint and, therefore, calls for a certain qualification. Leaving the general philosophical principles of such a qualification aside for now, I would like to illustrate it by one particular historical question. Most appropriate here is the so-called Ukrainian question which can, by right, be regarded as restrictive with regard to Russian nationalism.

This is all the more timely considering that among all our nationalities questions the Ukrainian question has been especially unfortunate. Its vital importance and profound theoretical content have been all but overlooked by our literature. In the politically-minded quarters of the intelligentsia it has been shamefully passed over in silence because the extreme nationalistic element of Ukrainism is more than these intellectuals can bear. Indeed, there was something theoretically absurd about the support which rational and liberal circles rendered to the most intolerant, the most unreasonable, the most ungrounded and pretentious nationalism of the Ukrainians. In cases when it was necessary to furnish theoretical substantiation for this support, the Ukrainian question was dealt with according to the pattern worked out for the Polish, Finnish, Armenian and other questions, i.e. freedom was demanded for the

"oppressed nation." So the whole thing was actually confined to the disapproval of the restrictions imposed on the Ukrainians by the government. Only those totally indifferent to the nationalities question could regard such a formal approach to it as a theoretical solution. As a matter of fact, the Ukrainian question was mentioned just in passing, as if to gloss over the unfortunate answer to it. From time to time, however, a politial journalist or a public figure will put the question point-blank, only to make the insufficiency and shallowness of the general humanitarian view of the Ukrainian question blatantly obvious...

No one has ever questioned the fact that the Ukrainians should go to their native schools, but the point at issue was *which school was native to them* – or, to put it more broadly, *which was their homeland,* the Ukraine or Russia? With which of these two historical entities should they identify themselves?

Let us make this point clear. The creative meaning of nationality consists in the broadening and enriching of the individual who is a microcosm of his nation. As a poet put it:

These plains, woods, legends,
And this glory are all yours.

However, by including in his ego all that makes up his nation, the individual excludes from it everything else. If this history is mine, the rest of history isn't. If these legends are mine, the rest are not. This is why the questions of the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities are mutually exclusive. Those who recognize the Ukrainians as a nation in its own right deny their belonging to the Russian nation. Those who say that the Ukrainian language is the Ukraine's national language, deny the national importance of the Russian language to it. Those who say that the Ukrainian national literature is that written in the Ukrainian language, deny the Ukrainians the right to regard Pushkin, Gogol, Dostoyevsky and Tolstoi as *their* writers; in that case, the history of Russia is not the history of the Ukraine as well, and the record of courage and selflessness which went into building up the world's greatest state does not have anything to do with the Ukraine any longer.

This distinction between *ours* and *not ours* is the quintessence of national awareness, but there should be a *valid reason for it.* If we single ourselves out as a distinctive nation, what exactly does our unique distinctiveness consist in?

When I say: *I am a Russian,* I thus imply that *I am not a German.* There is a justification for such a division of mankind into separate parts. A Russian and a German differ from one another substantially in many respects.

This is not true of the differences between a Ukrainian and a Russian. In Galicia, the Ukrainians had to distinguish themselves from the Germans, the Hungarians and the Poles. In Russia, they seek to distinguish themselves from the *Russians* who may be different from them ethnographically but not culturally, i.e. not as a nation. Such an opposition either destroys Ukrainian national self-awareness, or reduces it to the lamentable psychology for which real Ukrainophilism is notorious. Such an opposition will compel every Ukrainian to give up as alien what is very much his own. This will leave him with pitiful scraps which cannot be pieced together into anything whole. You cannot separate things Russian from things Ukrainian. Just try to do that to Gogol who owed three-quarters of what he created to Russian literature and Russian culture, but who introduced into his work the typical traits of his Ukrainian national character.

Ukrainian nationalism is doomed to degenerate into pettiness, into *provincialism,* into the narrowness and blindness of sectarianism. Who doesn't know the Ukrainian mentality? Who does not remember a Ukrainian scientist trying to prove, during the Gogol jubilee, that at the end of his life Gogol repented having written the second volume of his *Dead Souls* in Russian, not Ukrainian, and burnt the manuscript for that reason.

The reduction of the Ukrainian question to that of the language alone only serves to further confuse things. The whole point is that while not differing much from the rest of Russia spiritually and culturally, the Ukraine spoke its *local* language which, under different historical circumstances, could have developed into a cultured language. Is this process of development to be completed now, or will the Ukrainian tongue remain a local language which, in time, will draw closer to other local dialects of Russia and, instead of developing, will become a neutral one? If one approaches this question in isolation from others, one cannot help succumbing to the feeling common to all those who have lived in the Ukraine: why shouldn't this charming, flexible and lively language develop? However, having two cultured languages within the framework of one cultural process is unthinkable. And one should have the courage to acknowledge that language differences lead to the disruption of cultural processes. While there were no national cultures, the only common language was Latin. Now this function of interethnic communication can be performed by any national language provided it has a great culture behind it. Nationalism should either be great or not exist at all.

It is a pity if blind passion or acquisitiveness comes to predominate in the national feeling

Is it possible to put up with the prospect of a charming language remaining a local dialect and, as such, coming under the steady influence of a cultural national language? I think it is. Great nations are formed as a result of a dual process: external isolation and internal homogenization. This homogenization obliterates something dear to our heart, but such is a demand of history. And if the Ukrainian people ever confronts us with the questions: Where is the Mother Ukraine? Where is our beautiful language? – we shall reply: "The Mother Ukraine now belongs to where Great Novgorod and brother Pskov are, where the glorious Principality of Ryazan is – it is in the history of great Russia as its unforgettable page and its indispensable factor in its present greatness. Your language and your songs are alive in the Russian people's memory, they have contributed, sometimes imperceptibly, to our common Russian culture, your songs have become part of Russian music, and you are a creator and an owner of the entire Russian heritage which is *yours* by right. Our ancestors realized the need to make sacrifices, and there would have been no Russia if separatism of the Ukrainian brand had prevailed over their striving for unity. So let us not try and resolve the problems already solved by history, and may the following malicious prediction by a modern poet never come true:

Our distant forebears worked so hard –
They reached the end of their tether,
Putting our Mother Rus together...
Now we're pulling it apart.

Russia is one for as long as the Russian people is one.

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